

DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

"OPEN THY MOUTH FOR THE DUMB, IN THE CAUSE OF ALL SUCH AS ARE APPOINTED TO DESTRUCTION; OPEN THY MOUTH, JUDGE RIGHTEOUSLY, AND PLEAD THE CAUSE OF THE POOR AND NEEDY."—*Proverbs xxi. 8, 9.*

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"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of municipal institutions, Slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where Slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the Commander of the army has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves."—JOHN Q. ADAMS.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of _____, State of _____, respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the Government a fair pecuniary award, as a conciliatory measure, and to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

On Sunday evening, Oct. 13th, Dr. Cheever delivered another powerful anti-slavery discourse upon the Duty of the North to Proclaim Emancipation, and the Guilt and Danger involved in the refusal thus to obey the direct command of God in his Word. Mr. Cheever took the ground that the Constitution, properly interpreted, contains no sanction of slavery.

THE SITUATION.

There is, at last, some signs of progress in suppressing our great slaveholding rebellion. The rebels have now evidently abandoned the hope of capturing Washington, and mean to act only on the defensive—a policy which must go far to damp the enthusiasm of their troops. They have fallen back from the upper Potomac; they are demoralized in Western Virginia, and retreating before the advancing columns of FREMONT in Missouri. Meanwhile, a most formidable fleet, with fifty thousand men, prepared to strike both on land and sea, has just sailed from Fortress Monroe, and while we are writing, may be falling with crushing power upon the rebel coasts. There can be no doubt whatever that the rebel States are suffering immensely for the want of almost everything which they have hitherto obtained either by way of the upper Mississippi or the Atlantic ocean. As they grow weak, the National arm grows strong. The first days of the rebel cause were its best days. They have thus far been covered with the summer foliage. Winter, stern and bleak, is taking off the leaves, and lessening every hour their means of concealment.

An onward movement of the army of the Potomac is confidently announced as to take place speedily. This, together with the expedition from Fortress Monroe, cannot fail to give the rebels great trouble; and though we look for no speedy death of the rebellion, we do confidently hope to see its back broken during the month of November. The loyal army has met, since our last issue, a heavy repulse at Edward's Ferry, on the upper Potomac, involving a loss of six hundred. The blockading fleet at New Orleans was attacked by the rebels in the early part of the month, causing damage to one of our war vessels, but no loss of life. Upon the whole, the prospect of the country appears far more hopeful than at the time of our last publication. Strong men in all parties are calling out for a more earnest prosecution of the war, and a less tender policy towards slavery, the thrice accursed cause of the war.

One of the most unexpected and important utterances which has been given on the war, during the month, emanates from BROWNSON'S *Review*, a popular Catholic periodical. Mr. BROWNSON, during the last twenty-five years, has gone with those who have gone farthest in opposition to the anti-slavery movement, and in favor of making every possible concession to the slave interest. His influence with a certain part of the Democratic masses has been scarcely second to that of any other man, and his coming, ably and squarely, for making the war an abolition war, cannot fail to act powerfully upon the public mind. The position of his journal on the right side at this time, is a most significant indication of the favorable change going on in the public mind.

WILLIAM EDWARD FORSTER AND SECRETARY SEWARD.

The loyal people of the free States of America have often needed an able advocate at the bar of British public opinion; but never more than now, in the great domestic troubles through which they are passing, have they needed such an advocate. We are making England a very large sharer in the calamities of our civil war. We have blockaded our ports, and properly so. But by arresting the wheels of commerce, stopping the export of cotton, we have threatened a large department of English industry with ruin, and hundreds of thousands of the British people with the pangs of hunger and the desolations of famine and pestilence. The evils and hardships we are thus inflicting are unavoidable on our part, and equally through no fault on theirs. All this is very plain, and needs no argument. Not less plain is it that, smarting under these evils which they have had no hand in bringing about, the British Government and people should be disposed to murmur and complain. It is a little too much to expect that men can see themselves blasted and ruined without emotions of pain, and even impatience. Considering the relation we sustain to England, and the power which that country has to cripple and distress us, it would seem to be the dictate of wisdom, as well as benevolence, that the American Government and people should endeavor to do everything in their power to mitigate, and refrain from everything calculated to aggravate the wounds we are unavoidably inflicting upon our offending neighbors. We should do all in our power to shorten the term of their suffering, and everything in our power to assure them of our best wishes for their speedy relief. With a powerful domestic foe to contend with, more bitter, revengful and unprincipled than the worst foreign enemy can ever be, our policy to the outside world should be one of conciliation, kindness and friendship, and not of insult, bluster and defiance. The moral sentiment of the world is no mean ally even in a bad cause, and should never be repelled by a good one. The sentiment of Great Britain is naturally with the loyal people of America, though their interests may lean towards the rebels. They hate slavery, altho' they need cotton; but meanness is no part of the character of the British people, and they have often furnished examples of sacrificing interest to principle, and we believe are quite willing to do so in this instance. But to make their virtue a necessity, to defy and menace them, to dare them to move hand or foot, while suffering the torture of hunger and ruin, is a little inconsistent and unnecessarily harsh, and it may be dangerously impolitic.

Stripped of diplomatic urbanities and circumlocutions, the recent circular of Mr. SEWARD, and his correspondence with Lord LYONS, have been, in our judgment, better calculated to re-

pel than to invite the good feeling of the British Government and people. Our jacket is off, and we are getting ready for a fight, while the alleged foe stands coolly with his hands in his pocket, and has not given us a single angry word. Such behavior is very little to our credit. Neither our temper nor our statesmanship is likely to gain by it the favor of the world. Count Cavour, while endeavoring to establish Italian unity, wisely secured the moral support of the Emperor of the French and the friendship of England. He needed both; but not more than we now need the same friendship. Our Secretary of State is a wise man, and one to whom we have ever looked with confidence, not only for wisdom, but for gentleness and moral rectitude. In respect to the latter, we still believe in Wm. H. SEWARD. Nevertheless, we hold that he has struck the wrong note, and is singing the wrong tune, if he values, as he ought, the good will of old England. Were we in every respect prepared to whip all Europe in arms, there is no such love of fighting among us as to make it wise to invite such a war.

It has been more than once hinted, that a war with some foreign power would put an end to our domestic war, and unite the nation as in the days of the Revolution. The thought is not worthy even of a madman, and only worthy of a very wicked and mean man. The slaveholding States to-day would ally themselves more readily with the most despotic government in Europe, than with the free States. They have no love for England, France or Russia, but their feeling towards the free States is one of fierce and deadly hate. Proof of this has been given in every battle since the war began, and was given in every Southern speech before the war began. But even if this were not the case, the sentiment would be worthy only of the blackest villainy.

A foreign war at this time would afford a necessity for abandoning the idea of subduing the Southern rebellion, and furnish an excuse for our inability to maintain the Union and Government as handed down by our fathers. That much it would undoubtedly do; and if that is desirable, a foreign war may be good policy, though waged for a mean and wicked motive. For the life of us, we cannot see the least shadow of a ground for complaint against England. England has recognized the rebel Government as having belligerent rights. We have practically done the same thing. England has refused to treat the Confederate privateers as pirates; we virtually refuse to do the same thing. It is true, we are now trying them as pirates; but every body knows that this is the veriest sham, and that not one of the privateersmen now on trial for his life will ever suffer the doom of a pirate. That England should look with some concern upon the summary manner in which British subjects have been hurried off to prison, without the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, is entirely natural, and not to do so would contradict her whole history.—The American Government might justly be expected to do the same thing. If England were in the turmoil of civil war, and the British Government were to clutch Mr. LINCOLN, he being then a denizen of England, and throw him into prison upon private information, we should brand as base and recreant any minister of ours who failed to express

our national concern on account of such proceedings. There is reason in all things; but there is certainly no reason in the free and easy manner in which our newspapers are dealing with the recent brief note of Lord LYONS to the American Secretary of State.

But the main purpose of this article is not to discuss the political relations of England and America, but to acknowledge, in grateful terms, a magnanimous and able defence of the free States and their policy, by a rising British statesman and Member of Parliament—for such is Mr. WILLIAM EDWARD FORSTER, whose name we have placed at the head of this article.

Among the many able and distinguished men it was our privilege to meet, and whose friendship we were permitted to enjoy during our recent brief sojourn in England, we met with none who had more deeply studied and more completely mastered the great social and political questions which then and now divide the people of America. Mr. FORSTER seems to have taken for his political studies the two extremes, the East and the West.—One of the most masterly expositions of the relations of the British Government to India, published in the *Edinburgh Review*, is from his pen; while in the speech before us, he proves himself familiar with the very essence of the great slaveholders' rebellion; and notwithstanding the persistent blunders, mistakes and timidity of the American Government, calculated to make the impression upon the British mind that the South is only fighting to get slavery out of the Union, and the North to keep it in the Union, Mr. FORSTER, looking to the vital animus of the war on both sides, and weighing the tendency of each policy and the inevitable logic of events, arrives at the just conclusion that the war is, after all, a war for slavery on the part of the South, and against slavery on the part of the North. In this view of the case he nobly commends the North to the sympathy and regard of Englishmen. He touches the noblest element in British character, when he calls upon them, against what seems to be interest, to take sides with humanity and civilization in this contest with barbarism.

Just such an advocate do we need at this moment. We have need of defence against ourselves, and from the evils which our own miserable tenderness towards slavery is calling down upon us. Mr. FORSTER is now a Member of Parliament. His eloquence is of the genuine British stamp, abounding in facts rather than in flowers, and completely mastering and exhausting whatever subject upon which it is employed, either in writing or speaking. Able as he is, he is not more able than candid.—We have never met a man freer from clap-trap, or shams of any kind. It is this circumstance, together with his ability, which procured for his recent speech at Bradford a place in the columns of the *London Times*. Like our *New York Herald*, that journal, however crookedly it may steer its own editorial columns, is wise enough to catch up every purely English utterance, and thus retain a national character, even while it would lead the nation astray.

America cannot well afford to dispense with English friendship at any time, and she can less afford to do so in this hour of disaster and desolation than at any time in the past. Our experience of the two countries is, that where

you will hear one unkind word against America in England, you will hear ten in America against England. Instead of widening the breach between the peoples of these two countries of the same language, religion, law and fundamental ideas, we would gladly hold up the hands of such statesmen as Mr. FORSTER, who, even at the expense of material interest, seeks to maintain the most cordial relation with the loyal and progressive people of America.

FREMONT AND FREEDOM—LINCOLN AND SLAVERY.

In our number for the month of October, we recorded and commented on the pusillanimous and pro-slavery interference of President LINCOLN against the confiscation and liberation of the slaves held by those in arms against the Government in the State of Missouri. The friends of freedom and the Union had scarcely ceased to mourn this lamentable blunder, and the rebels to rejoice over it, when out came a still more disheartening rumor to the effect that FREMONT's policy had not only been condemned by the Government, but that the Government was seriously debating the question of his removal from his command. At first, no body could believe that any such suicidal policy as that could have been entertained for a moment by the Government. But now, after weeks of telegrams "by authority," all calculated to impair the reputation of the young and vigorous anti-slavery General, there is no reason to doubt that FREMONT's humiliation is fully determined upon, and that only a brief space is given him to save the Government the responsibility of his removal by his own resignation.—This dodge, however, is not likely to work, since strong in the confidence of his army, and strong in his own conscious integrity, FREMONT, in all the likelihoods of the case, will bravely remain at his post until the Government shoulders the full and open responsibility of his removal.

Of course, it would be rash to assume, in behalf of General FREMONT, or of any other General, that his management of his department has been faultless; but so far as the public are aware, the gravest charges yet made against FREMONT are amply refuted, and the rest are simply contemptible. There is a deep conviction in the public mind that the opposition to the rising young General, arises out of other than honorable and patriotic motives—motives which, if persisted in, may lead to the complete and hopeless demoralization of the army; and pave the way for a civil war within a civil war.

These words have a harsh and disagreeable sound even to our own ears; but truth consults no man's taste, and events enter without begging any man's permission. If Government shall humble merit, and exalt imbecility, displace Generals who are a terror to the rebels, and promote those who excite no alarm, and thus in fact allow the rebels to select only such Generals as they can whip, as well as choose the ground upon which they can whip them most easily—it would not be strange if the patience of the people should entirely break down, and if some determined man of military genius should rise out of the social chaos, and displace the civil power altogether. Such things have taken place before, and what has been done may be done again. The last twenty-five years of Mexi-

can history is full of warning, not only to the Southern rebels, but to our Government at Washington. The voice of history and of human nature itself cries aloud with unsparing energy, "Have a care—have a care!"

With an army of thirty-five thousand men against an army of forty thousand, FREMONT is scourging the rebels beyond the borders of Missouri; while the Government at Washington has an army of nearly three hundred thousand men, right under its nose, and has yet allowed the rebels to blockade the Potomac, so that the Government is compelled to seek some other highway to the ocean than the very river, which has been in its hands since the beginning of the war. While this is done by the rebels on the lower Potomac, Col. BAKER, with a handful of men, as usual against *three times* their number, is cut to pieces. Yet McCLELLAN is a model General, and FREMONT is to be superceded. "Have a care"—the people notice these things. They may get tired of reading daily telegrams that "General McCLELLAN, with his staff, at an early hour passed over the Chain Bridge," and "returned at a late hour in the evening;" "that the department under Gen. BANKS is in excellent condition," and that "everything is quiet along our entire lines." To this tune the national baby has been sung to sleep during all the last three months; and during two-thirds of the same time, the indefatigable telegraph has been busy in disparaging the only General who is vigorously pursuing the retreating foe. Whatever may be the unexplained grounds against JOHN C. FREMONT, the visible ones have anything but an honest face. If good cause exists for his removal, an honest and brave Government would remove him at once. If a doubt exists concerning him, a wise Government would, without delay, resolve that doubt. If the complaints against him are groundless, a generous Government would give him its fullest confidence and its most efficient co-operation. That neither of these courses has been pursued by the Government, is, to say the least, a just ground for suspicion that foul play is at work.

FREMONT has offended; he has struck rebellion in its most sensitive part. Assuming that the rebels are to be put down by fighting, and not by catching their negro slaves and helping to hold them; that the business of the Government is not now to conciliate, but to conquer a peace, he has struck at the very heart of the rebellion by striking at slavery. This is his offence. The letter of the President to him proves it; and until he shall have been duly convicted of marked and decided derelictions of duty, the country will have to believe that the attempt to sacrifice JOHN C. FREMONT has this only foundation—that he loved his country better than negro slavery, and offered the latter a sacrifice to save the former.

The Louisville *Journal* says that a slave belonging to Jeff. Olford, a Secessionist of Spencer County, made his escape and delivered himself up at Camp Sherman. The officers of the camp handed him over to the Provost Marshal of Louisville, who, under instructions from Gen. Sherman, returned him without reward to his owner. The same paper has a notice also of a fugitive slave belonging to a citizen of Louisville, that was arrested and promptly returned to his owner by the Federal authorities in Indiana.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

MEERDITH, October 14, 1861.

DEAR SIR:—In your last issue, in the article "To Readers and Subscribers," last clause, you state that the signs of the times are favorable to the downfall of slavery, and that soon. Now do, in your next issue, give us some of the signs. In the last week's N. Y. Post, I see that our army on the Potomac has been in chase of a fugitive, and ran him down and sent him back to his master under an escort of soldiers. Now, if this is one of your favorable signs, I must disagree with you. I made up my mind that such great exploits as that must shortly close the war, and leave slavery to guide its way as usual. I am sick and disheartened.

Respectfully yours,

S. DUTTON.

The request of our respected correspondent shall be complied with, though in this compliance we freely confess our inability to specify anything AFFIRMATIVELY in the character of our Government at Washington, or in the recent conduct of the army on the Potomac, very favorable to our hopes of speedy emancipation. Fortunately, however, neither of these powers cover the entire moral sky upon which the friends of freedom are permitted to discern the signs of the times.—There are powers above those of the Government and the army—a power behind the throne, greater than the throne itself. Governments act from necessity, real or supposed. They move only as they are moved upon.—Our Government is no exception to this rule. It cannot determine what shall be the character of events. To these it stands in the relation of a ship to the gale. It must adjust itself to the state of the ocean, or go down in the storm. Our Government has already done many things which it would have gladly avoided. Consulting its own discretion, the slaveholding oligarchy might have had everything for slavery in the Government, which they now profess to desire outside of it. The Government, up to last April, was ready for anything in the way of a compromise, by which slavery should have received an open and scandalous recognition in the Constitution of the United States, from which the fathers of the Republic had been careful to exclude it, for the reason, as Mr. MADISON declared, that "they did not wish to have it seen in the Constitution that there could be any such thing as property in man." They could have repealed all the Personal Liberty Bills at the North, and had the free States for an hunting ground, and Northern men for negro dogs, and slavery protected everywhere South of a certain line of latitude. Senator SEWARD in his speech of January even offered to abandon the Republican party. But events, greater than the Government, spoiled all this, and more too. The first shot at the starving garrison at Fort Sumter awoke alike the Government and the nation from their filthy dreams of compromise.

Necessity is master over all. It has compelled our Government, much against all its wishes, to draw the sword against the slaveholding rebels, to suspend in different parts of the country the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, to place Baltimore under martial law, to abridge the liberty of speech and press, to invade the sacred soil of Virginia, to fill Fortress Monroe with slaves, to confiscate the property of slaveholding rebels, to blockade and threaten all the Southern coast. It has seized private property, taken possession of railroads, captured telegraph dispatches, cut off the mails, and done many other things under the higher law, not of the written Constitution, or of its own inclination, but of ne-

cessity. It has been from the first, and must be to the last, borne along on the broad current of events. Its doctrines, its principles, and its measures are all subjected to the modifying power of this mighty current.

Herein, then, Mr. DUTTON, are the grounds of our hope. There are two parties to this as to all other wars, domestic or foreign, and the action of no party can ever be independent of that of the other. We see that on the part of the North, notwithstanding all the reverses and blunders of its army, the millions of treasure already swallowed up, and the millions more to go in the same way, its every indication and utterance grows stronger daily for the Union. The Union shall not be dissolved, is the united determination of the North, and of the Government at Washington. The last vestige of a contrary disposition has been swept away. On the other hand, the slaveholding States, becoming familiar with hardships of war, and desperate in their determination to break up the Government, may be expected to stand their ground, while they have either money or blood to pour out in furtherance of their object. They evidently could not if they would, and would not if they could take a single step backward.

All signs portend that we are to have a long, revengeful and desolating war, in which both parties will be driven to extremities not dreamed of at the beginning of the war. We are not fighting a servile war, but our masters, the men who have ruled us during a half a century. They are not the men to easily bend to the authority of those whom they have ruled as serviles. They are proud, brave, willful, determined, skillful, unscrupulous and cruel; and to their savage villainy, more than to the moral virtue and humanity of the North, do we look for that iron necessity, which shall compel our Government to aim a death-blow at the life of slavery, the prime cause and support of the rebellion.—When, therefore, we speak of the signs of the times being favorable to the speedy abolition of slavery, we must not be understood as looking to this or that incidental act of the army, but to the very core and vital element and philosophy of the strife.—We read the sayings of public men outside the Government, the utterance of the press, and study the situation of the whole contest, and deduce the abolition of slavery as the natural consequence of the war, whether our Government or Generals would have it so or not. The very reluctance of the Government to strike the blow at present may be necessary to make it all the more powerful, effectual and successful when it is struck. We have not yet been sufficiently deluged with slaveholding contempt and scorn, nor drunk deep enough of the poisoned cup of slaveholding malignity. A few more of our patriotic Generals must be murdered, and many thousands more of our loyal troops slaughtered; our power must be more severely taxed, and our prowess more thoroughly tried. We may even have to grapple with the iron hand of the slave in front of the battle, before we shall be ready to unfurl the banner of freedom, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof. In one way or another the work will be done. The back-bone of slavery is already broken in Missouri, notwithstanding the efforts of the President to save it. Slaveholders are leaving the State in

droves, leaving the fuel of rebellion in that State exhausted. The power of the slaveholders is broken in Western Virginia and in Maryland.

Meanwhile the friends of the Union and of liberty should be active, and appear by petition at the bar of Congress in such numbers, and in such arguments, as to leave no room for the Government to escape from the great work of liberation. Already, signs are not wanting which prove that our Administration at Washington is quite vincible to the moral influence now setting against slavery. We hear no more about protecting the property of the rebels—no more about putting down slave insurrections—no more about excluding all persons "*held to service or labor from their lines*;" but instead, we have an order from the Secretary of War to the Naval Expedition, now about to depart from Old Point, from which we quote the following important passage:

"You (Gen. Sherman) are to avail yourself of the services of *ANY* persons, whether fugitives from labor or not, who may offer them to the National Government; you may employ such persons in such services as they may be fitted for, either as ordinary employees, or, if special circumstances seem to require it, in *ANY OTHER* capacity, with such organization, in squads, companies, or otherwise, as you deem most beneficial to the service. This, however, not to mean a *GENERAL* arming of them for military service. You will assure all *LOYAL* masters that Congress will provide just compensation to them for the loss of the services of the persons so employed."

The Secretary does not go the length of arming the slaves and treating them as loyal soldiers. He moves slowly; but he *moves*, and that is something. He will put into the hands of the bondman the spade, the pick and the ax, and set him to work for his country, instead of the person to whom his "service and labor may be due." This is something; and we think the next step will be to welcome under the Star Spangled Banner "any muscle that can fight," whether slave or free; and when that day comes, the end of the rebellion and the end of slavery will not be far off.—Keep pounding on the rock.

"THIS IS NOT A WAR FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY."

So says the New York *Tribune*, the *Times*, the *World*, and many other Liberal American papers, and so says HENRY WARD BEECHER. The saying is repeated at every corner, every hour in the day, and every minute in the hour. Why do we hear this disclaimer thus perpetually? Out of what class of motives does it spring? What is its true signification, and the impression it is designed to make? Whose hopes is it intended to disappoint, and whose fears is it intended to allay? What does it mean? To us it is at best a most unnecessary and cowardly disclaimer, and one in no sense fit to be made by any true man. It is an outgrowth of that debasing servility to slavery which has from the beginning served to paralyze the national arm in striking down the atrocious slaveholding rebellion. It proves that we are as a nation bound, as by a spell of enchantment, to slavery; that we are so bound and so blind that no crime, from treason and rebellion down to cold-blooded piracy and murder on its part, can alienate us from it. Men would scout this disclaimer and the men who utter it, but for the moral debasement into which our long years of contact with the putrid car-

cass of slavery has sunk us. "This is not a war for the abolition of slavery!" In most mouths it means that slavery ought to survive the war, of which it is the sole cause; it means that the military power ought not to be employed in a manner to put down slavery; it means that the Government should take care that in suppressing the rebellion, that it does not suppress slavery; it means assurance to the slaveholding traitors that the Government has no designs upon slavery, and that that monstrous aggregation of wrong and mischief has but to lay down its rebellious arms to receive, as formerly, the full and complete protection of the Government which those who act for it have been, and are now, endeavoring to break up.

But is it not historically true that this is not a war for the abolition of slavery? Yes it is; but every body knows it, no body doubts it, and hence there is no need whatever for asserting it in the manner now done, especially since to do so carries with it implications calculated to embarrass the Government in one important means of putting down the rebellion. It is said that this war was undertaken for the preservation of the Government. This is true; but not more true is it than that the war is for the preservation of that for which the Government was instituted.—The loyal American people are not fighting for dead parchment, and for empty form, but the great living principles of liberty now assailed by a combination of slaveholding despots, whose purpose it is to break down and destroy, first the Government, and then the principles which the Government was ordained and established to secure and protect. We are not merely fighting for the old house which shelters us, but for the precious lives, liberties and happiness, which it covers.—Whatever threatens these, are legitimate obstacles to be removed. Slavery, of all things else, thus threatens. Out of its polluted heart has sprung this devilish rebellion. To tell us that the war is not to put down slavery, may at last come to mean that the war is not intended to put down the rebellion. We should hear no more disclaimers. It should be understood that the war is to do anything and everything which may be needful for the preservation of order, liberty and justice.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for November has reached us. Its contents are—1. Geo. Sand, by Mrs. Howe. 2. Hair-Chains, by the author of "Found and Lost." 3. The Flower of Liberty, a poem attributed to Holmes—4. Alexis de Tocqueville, by C. E. Norton. 5. A continuation of Mrs. Stowe's Agnes of Sorrento. 6. Health in the Camp, by Miss Martineau. 7. "The Stormy Petrel." 8. The second part of A Story of To-Day. 9. Concerning the People who carried Weight in Life. 10. Why has the North felt aggrieved with England? by Geo. E. Ellis, D. D. 11. The Wild Endive, an anonymous poem. 12. The Contrabands at Fortress Monroe, an article containing highly interesting facts respecting the slaves, written by E. L. Pierce, Esq., a private in one of the Massachusetts regiments. 13. The Washers of the Shroud, a poem by James Russell Lowell.

Lydia Maria Child has written a characteristically warm-hearted letter to Mrs. Fremont, 'our Jessie,' on the cause, nature and hoped for results of the war.

READ THIS!—IMPORTANT PETITION:

A Petition to Congress, of great importance, will be found in another column of this paper. It is in favor of Emancipation, under the war power, and a fair compensation of loyal slave-owners, as an aid to speedy adjustment, and the only way to secure honor, peace, and the conquest, thorough and lasting, of rebellion.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, whose name justly has great weight, declared in Congress, three times on different occasions, that, in case of dangerous rebellion or war, the Government had a full right to put slavery out of existence.

Surely, the present crisis is one full of danger, threatening the liberties of the people.

HON. KINGSLEY S. BINGHAM, of Michigan, United States Senator, who died but a few weeks since, told a friend in Washington just before his death, that he feared trials, reverses and trouble were before this nation, unless they emancipated the slaves.

No word from any army officer or Government official since this rebellion began has met with such hearty response and approval, as FREMONT's proclamation of freedom to all slaves of rebels. Instinctively the people felt it was a blow at the root of the whole matter. "So many slaves, so many enemies," is true. Shall the four millions be our friends or enemies?

The Petition is being largely circulated, and meets with favor wherever it is properly brought before the people. But *work* is needed for it. Will some earnest and *working* men and women, in each place where this Petition reaches, circulate it *themselves*, going from house to house for names?

This is the best course, *by far*.

And let all signers' names, both men and women, be sent to me, *promptly*, by mail or otherwise, on or before Nov. 25th, at Rochester, New York—that is, all names in Western or Central New York.

Here we gather up all Petitions, and send them to Washington by some good hand.

Let the potent and united voice of the people speak to Congress, and thus give that aid, strength, high purpose and single aim to our Government, so much needed in this trying crisis. Let voters and non-voters sign in parallel columns on the same sheet, that they may be separately counted.

G. B. STEBBINS.

Our trans-Atlantic friends, whose co-operation with the ROCHESTER LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION has given it the means of greatly aiding the anti-slavery cause, by assisting the fugitive slave on his way to Canada, and the dissemination of anti-slavery truth over the country by means of the press and the living speaker, will read with interest the brief annual report of the Society elsewhere published in our columns. Our friends, too, will observe that although the effect of the war may be, as we sincerely hope it will put an end to the necessity of sending fugitives to Canada, the Society will still have a good work to do in assisting in the improvement and education of those whom long years of bondage has kept in ignorance. Having liberated the body of the bondman, it may be ours to assist in also liberating his mind from the bondage of ignorance and degradation.

It is estimated that the number of Germans in the Federal army amount to 59,000.

TENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ROCHESTER LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

OFFICERS FOR THE YEARS 1861-62.

Mrs. C. E. MARSH, *President*; Mrs. McLEAN, *Vice President*; MARIA G. PORTER, *Treasurer*; A. M. C. BARNES, *Secretary*; *Directresses*—Mrs. E. SNOW, Mrs. LAING, Mrs. E. TIPPETTS, Mrs. D. SLIE.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

In preparing a Report of the year, the Secretary feels that there is very little to record: it has been one of such unusual political and financial circumstances, that the various means used in former years for raising money and disseminating anti-slavery doctrines, have been unsuited to the times, or dangerous in execution.

During the Fall, while the Southern bravado was at its height, "Compromise" was the cry of the North, and mob spirit (the child of "Compromise") was rampant in the land. A meeting, held in our city for the furtherance of the cause, had been broken up, and it was deemed best to give up a sale for which arrangements had been made. Through the winter, the season for Lectures, the same spirit prevailed, and the Society made no effort to have any speakers. When the Southern Rebellion really showed its face in the cowardly attack on Fort Sumter, the tide of feeling changed, and anti-slavery sentiments were on every lip. The season for a successful sale had gone by, and the ladies of the Society, with their sisters all over the North, were busy fitting out Volunteers. The War—an anti-slavery war as they regard it—was first in their hearts. The meetings of the Society have been less regularly attended, and very little work has been accomplished. Private sales have been made during the year, but from our own efforts very little has been added to the funds of the Society.

Our foreign friends have proved themselves *friends indeed* by their faithful and constant efforts in our behalf; and to them we owe nearly all our power to carry on the great work of the Society—the aid of fugitives. A large number have been helped on their way during the year, and some clothing furnished to those in need.

We have gratefully to acknowledge the kind exertions of Mr. Wm. S. FALLS, of this city, in collecting moneys for the aid of fugitives, having by his own efforts, at various times during the year, raised over fifty dollars, which have been paid out to the hapless victims of our "peculiar institution," while on their way to freedom in Canada.

A donation was made to Mr. Wm. S. BAILEY, proprietor of "The Free South," of Newport, Kentucky, to assist in re-establishing his printing press, which had been destroyed by a mob. Also, a donation to Mr. HIRAM WILSON, of St. Catharines, C. W., to be devoted to the comfort of such fugitives as reached him in want.

The "Frederick Douglass' Paper" has been aided as usual.

The public feeling now would make the holding of a Bazaar safe, but the War is such a drain on the resources of the people, and the utter stagnation of all kinds of business, would make it useless to attempt anything of the kind at present. It was proposed to make a box of goods for the coming sale in England, but the home work for Volunteers has occupied the ladies to the exclusion of everything else, and we have but to hope that the day when our work will be the elevation of a free people, instead of the liberation of a nation enslaved, is rapidly approaching.—And that however little it may be in the plans of politicians, the spirit of the men who make our armies, and that of those who work at home to give them support, will sweep from the land not only the hydra, Secession, but the fouler, blacker, blot of Slavery.

To us, the first shell that fell upon Sumter sounded the death-knell of Slavery; and though saddened by a defeat in the one great clashing of our armies, our faith is unshaken in the ultimate end. The slave system may struggle for a while; it may and will find advocates in the North; "Compromise" may again rear its head for its defence, but it *must die*. Its end is made more sure by every Northern success: and its death-groans come to us in the voice of the People, which every day becomes more distinct in its enunciation: "The root of rebellion is Slavery." And may God in his good Providence hasten the day which shall at once free our beloved country from Slavery and from War!

MRS. C. E. MARSH, *Pres't.*
A. M. C. BARNES, *Sec'y.*
ROCHESTER, October, 1861.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

To balance,	\$669 03
Memberships and Donations,	369 66
Sale of Goods,	72 92
Dublin Anti-Slavery Society, by Mr. Tappan,	47 70
	\$1,159 31
By credit, Fugitives,	\$341 75
" Frederick Douglass,	75 00
" Printing and Postage,	16 37
" Express,	2 00
" Mr. Bailey,	25 00
" Working Materials,	27 88
By Balance in Treasury,	671 31
	\$1 159 31

MARIA G. PORTER, *Treasurer.*

The following are the names of the various Foreign Societies which have made us donations during the past year, the amount of which is embodied in the Treasurer's Report:

Clog'er Anti-Slavery Society,	£10 0 0
Montrose "	6 0 0
Birmingham "	3 1 0
Liverpool "	5 0 0
Berwick-on-Tweed "	5 0 0
Aberdeen "	5 0 0
Bristol "	4 0 0
Chelmsford "	3 10 0
Doncaster "	5 9 0
Brechin "	4 14 0
Edinburgh "	5 0 0
Sheffield "	6 0 0
Dalkeith "	3 0 0

LETTERS FROM THE OLD WORLD—NO. LXXVII

THE CROFTS, NEAR STRATFORD-ON-AVON, Sept. 21.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—I have dispatched epistles to you from the regions of BURNS, the home of BYRON, and the land of SCOTT, but never until now, from Shakspearian regions. I know you visited Warwick Castle, and Kenilworth Castle some years ago, but I do not think you ever made a pilgrimage to the birthplace of the bard of Avon, or saw the spot where all that is mortal of an immortal poet peacefully rests, (and undisturbed *shall* rest,) until the resurrection morn shall dawn; for what defiant hand dare remove the stone on which is inscribed the ominous words:

" Good Friend! for Jesus' sake forbear
To dig the dust enclosed here;
Blest is the man that spares these bones,
But curst is he that moves these stones."

Whether or not the above inscription was written by SHAKESPEARE himself, or by a friend of his, appears left in doubt—the *fact* remains that, in the chancel of the venerable church of Stratford, which rises on the banks of the winding Avon, beneath a ponderous stone, inscribed as above, with his wife, ANN HATHAWAY, by his side, lie the mortal remains of our SHAKESPEARE, THE WORLD'S SHAKESPEARE, and that hither people throng from every country and every clime, and will continue to do so while the English language lasts.

It is long ago since I first visited the pretty little town of Stratford, and stood, for the first time, in the house in which SHAKESPEARE was born. I have travelled many thousand miles since then, looked on many scenes of intense interest, and visited many shrines of the great and the good, but I can distinctly recall to memory my sensations on first entering that little chamber, and on first standing on that last resting-place. Since then the house has been purchased by the Shakspearian Society, which Society, it is much to be regretted, did not spring into existence years ago, before that surly tenant occupied the dwelling, who cut down SHAKESPEARE'S mulberry tree, and did his best to destroy the house! Shame on him, whoever he was!—The few tables and chairs in the rooms, tho' of ancient date, are not those of SHAKESPEARE'S time. Every inch of the walls, the ceiling, and the window is covered, crossed and re-crossed with the names of people who have been here. I never saw but one other room so lined with signatures—that was the room in which BURNS first saw the light. Some of the most famous names have been lost by those of *small* people, who have been eager to transcribe their unknown names largely.—Thus, BYRON, MOORE, WELLINGTON, WASHINGTON IRVING are swallowed up and seen no more! Happily, Sir WALTER SCOTT'S name, (written by himself on a pane of glass in the chamber window,) thus far is apparent, and highly prized, I understand. "You've seen the painting in the back room, of course?" (said the good lady, who now is appointed to show the house.) I had not even heard of this portrait, and was, therefore, as much astonished as delighted to find myself opposite to a likeness of SHAKESPEARE, at once so noble and so attractive that I cannot doubt its being a genuine portrait of him. "Where did it come from?" "Who was the artist?" were, of course, my questions, and more easily asked than answered. The value of the painting

has, it seems, but recently been discovered; its beauty had become dim and obscured, and it had been unlooked at and uncared for in some old place, (called *New Place*, I rather think,) for years, when a family change bro't it to a gentleman's house at Stratford, where a picture dealer saw it, and before cleaning it, offered five hundred guineas for it. "No," was the reply. He cleaned it, and made divers offers for it, (so my informant told me,) to the amount of three thousand guineas.—"I shall not sell the picture," was the answer; and the disinterested, public-spirited owner (a lawyer in Stratford) presented this beautiful gem of art and great object of interest to the Shakspearian Society, for the purpose of its being exhibited in the old home of the wondrous bard, where it stands out from the canvass, and illumines the ancient walls, an *all but* living representation of WM. SHAKSPEARE. Speculation is endless as to the painter of this masterly portrait; it is taken such care of that it is kept in an immense iron case, which case is firmly fastened to the wall and locked up every night. I was interested in perusing some lines of LUCIAN BUONAPARTE, written on visiting this spot in 1810:

"The eye of Genius glistens to admire
How memory hails the sound of Shakspeare's lyre.

One tear I'll shed to form a crystal shrine
For all that's grand, immortal, and divine."

SHAKSPEARE'S garden that *was* has long been uprooted and dismantled, and the trees that once ~~shaded~~ have been cut down by rude hands (a grievous pity!)

Since the place was purchased with a view to its preservation from further barbarous devastation, a *new* garden has been laid out on the old spot, where a cutting from the old and *famed* mulberry tree now flourishes, and where divers young trees and shrubs are vigorously sprouting forth. At present this youthful garden looks extensively *out of keeping* with the old tenement adjoining; but in twenty years' time this will be remedied.

We drove direct from SHAKSPEARE'S house to *Shottery*, to see the cottage of ANN HATHAWAY, his wife. A lovely drive of scarcely two miles brought us to the old fashioned country village of Shottery, and in this village stands the low long cottage from which, in his earlier youth, SHAKSPEARE married his ANNE, of whom *not a single record exists*; but she was *his wife*, and, therefore, people look with keen interest on her old home and its surroundings, and wonder *which* was the short cut across the fields taken by him on his Sunday afternoon walks, and week night strolls thither? The country is lovely on all sides—rich green meadows, winding lanes, lined with thick hedges and overhung with majestic trees.

I reached home in a dreamy contemplative mood, wondering and conjecturing endlessly as to what had been, and what *had not* been in existence nearly three centuries ago!

The Stratford of the *present* is a pretty, little, clean town, pleasantly situated on the winding, silvery *Avon*; the river is spanned by a fine old bridge at the entrance of the town, and from this bridge we have the best view of the tapering spire of the church which peeps out amidst a rich wood of trees, pointing heavenward. The choir connected with the church is deservedly renowned. We had full cathedral service there last Sunday, and

exceedingly I enjoyed it. To worship in this time-worn, venerable edifice, with the *dust* of the mighty genius silently lying beneath one's feet; to hear the sublime words of the spirit wrapt *Isaiah* sounded forth by finely cultivated voices, accompanied by the rich notes of a full toned organ, was, indeed, indescribable. "In that day shall this song be sung in the land of Judah," was the recitative preceding the chorus; and such a chorus of sacred song followed! "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on Thee," was among the richest and loftiest strains I ever listened to, and carried one's thoughts far above this lower state of existence, and these earthly choruses of the church militant, to that Heavenly song which shall be sung by people of every country and clime throughout eternity.

I understand that, to the disinterested self-devotion and industry of the Rev. W. MORRIS, the curate of Stratford, are the people mainly indebted for the grand chaunting, and the excellent choir.

One of the finest views near Stratford is attainable from the beautiful grounds of "*Welcombe*," which rise to a considerable height, nearly from the banks of the *Avon*.—New beauties are visible here from every turn of the romantic winding paths. We had perfect weather for the drive, the ramble, the picnic, and the view, and we made the most of it, since perfect weather, in our English climate, is something unusual. How you, my dear friend, would have gloried in the panorama that was spread before us as we stood on the *Lawson Hill* overshadowed with some of the finest trees I ever beheld! Such a combination of thorough English rural home beauties as thence met our eyes I have rarely seen surpassed. An amphitheatre of green pastures and sunny meadows, separated from one another by thick hedges, and beautified by majestic single trees—here and there, rich woods varying the aspect of the scene—the quiet little town of Stratford appearing below us on our right, environed by rich foliage, and backed by hills—the pretty village of Tiddington at our feet, separated from us by the softly flowing *Avon* and the "*Welcombe*" woods—the picturesque village and church of Alveston, between the trees on our left—more distant villages dimly appearing, with ever and anon an old fashioned country mansion, or farm house, or cottage looming up between the ever rich, full foliage of pleasure grounds, parks and woods—the *Loxley hills* bounding our view in one direction—the far more distant *Malvern range* meeting the horizon on the other. But description is vain! alas, I cannot make you *see* this pretty picture; but you will imagine how all this, with deep blue sky above us, light fleecy clouds gracefully sailing over us, casting their soft shadows here and there, beautiful gardens all round us, and bright sunshine smiling on everything, formed a picture never to be forgotten, with balmy breezes fanning our cheek, and singing birds gladdening our ears, we sat on the heights regaling ourselves, not only with the beauty of the landscape, but with more substantial fare, which had been bountifully provided by my considerate friend and hostess; and then after further exploring the lovely pleasure grounds of "*Welcombe*," with the tiny Lake, and its more tiny island, we regretfully bade the lovely scene adieu, and after descending from

our glorious hill, and driving "through the emerald woods," we were once again on the Queen's highway, and in common every day life.

Every one familiar with the little there is to know of the early days of SHAKSPEARE, will remember the names of "Lucy," and "Charlecote Park." We drove to Charlecote one morning lately, through four miles of fine country; in many places the rich masses of full foliage met above our heads as we passed through the shady lane that led us (along the side of the Park where hundreds of deer were bounding, and many sheep grazing) to the trim little church, which was built, only nine years since, on the edge of the park nearest to the village, in place of an ancient edifice taken down. The celebrated monuments of the Lucy family were then removed, and now stand in the Lucy Chapel of the new church, and are objects of exceeding interest, for several reasons. There never were but three Sir THOS. LUCYS, and they all lie here. The first Sir THOMAS LUCY of SHAKSPEARE'S time erected a huge, massive monument to his wife, and round it is an inscription written by him, representing her to have been a woman adorned with every *possible virtue*. As I read this high panegyric, the sexton's wife (who was showing me the monuments) remarked, "Sir THOMAS wrote that, ma'm, because SHAKSPEARE had said bad things of the lady." Sir THOMAS died five years after his wife, and their effigies, of immense size, are carved in stone, and side by side they lie over the tomb in which their bodies are interred. 1600 is the date of his death. The monument to the second Sir THOMAS LUCY (erected by his widow) is one of the finest pieces of sculpture I ever saw. It is said that the lady sat for her likeness, and had her own effigy prepared while she lived, to insure its accompanying that of her husband; and truly, there is more of *life* than of *death* in that beautiful form, which seems but to slumber softly, as her husband looks down upon her; the grouping of the figures is perfection, and the execution marvelous.

The monument to the third Sir THOMAS LUCY is quite a curiosity, and but for the assurance of the sexton and the date, (1640,) I should have deemed it the more ancient of the three. Sir THOMAS reposes alone on the top of the monument; and by his side kneels a queer little figure dressed in black, with hands uplifted in prayer, preceded by six smaller female figures in black—the daughters—and followed by eight small male figures—the sons—all with their hands raised in prayer, but of the quaintest possible cut, so that to keep a grave face while looking at them would be a difficult task. One cannot but wonder at the singular task of the Lady Lucy who devised or acquiesced in such a mausoleum.

The memorial windows in the church, erected by the present family of Lucys, are very beautiful. There is nothing remarkable in the outer appearance of the old Hall, which is within sight of the church, and is the seat of the Lucys still. The Park is renowned for the loftiness and stateliness of the many magnificent trees that adorn it. Here the oak, the elm, the beech, the ash, the chesnut and the sycamore vie with one another in size and beauty.

Warwickshire is famous for fine *wood*, and whichever way we drive, we are inclined to think the trees we see are among the finest we

ever saw ; but, surely few can equal those in Charleotte Park !

Time and space fail ; I must tell you in my next letter of the "Warwickshire Agricultural and Horticultural Show," held here a few days ago. We are to celebrate "*Harvest Home*" on Tuesday, and are hoping for as fine a day as we were favored with for the recent fete.

Do not think that my friends in the States are forgotten ; we eagerly seize upon American news, and are always disappointed. The only gleam of hope I see is in General FREMONT's Proclamation. If these *proclamations multiply*, then we may hope. Meantime I can but point my dear oppressed colored friends to God, and bid them look up, and *have faith in Him*. "GOD REIGNS IN ETERNITY."

Ever your faithful friend,

JULIA G. CROFTS.

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND AMERICAN SLAVERY.

We publish, with much satisfaction, the following correspondence—a testimony of British Christians against our great abomination which maketh desolate. While slavery continues, whether its duration shall be long or short, or whether it shall have a peaceful or a bloody termination, the testimonies of our trans-Atlantic friends cannot be other than precious to the hearts of the afflicted bondmen and their American friends.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS : DEAR SIR :—I beg to transmit to you the following Resolutions, and to state that the Synod by which they were unanimously adopted, consists of the Ministers and representative Elders of 546 Congregations, with a membership in full communion of 163,554.

"The different bodies of which it consisted," before their Union in 1847, were the United Secession and the Relief Churches—the former formed in 1733, by a Secession from the Established Church, on account of its defections in doctrine and in discipline, its enforcement of Patronage in the appointment of ministers in opposition to congregational election, and its repression of ministerial fidelity in testifying either in the pulpit or in church courts against the delinquencies—the latter formed in 1753, by a second Secession from the Established Church, on account of its oppression of ministers, to the extent of deposition, who declined to be its instruments in ordaining the obnoxious presentees of patrons ever resisting congregations.

Cherishing from their own origin the principles of civil and religious liberty, the Synods of the two Churches were before their union, as since, unanimous in their opposition to Slavery. With great interest and delight have the office-bearers and members of the United Body witnessed the astounding growth of Christian Churches in the United States of America, without state endowments and repudiating their principle ; and their sympathies and satisfaction have especially rested on Presbyterian Churches holding the same Confession and Catechisms with themselves ; while the valuable contributions which have emanated from the latter to sound theology, to practical religion, and to Biblical literature generally, have justly received their warm admiration, respect and gratitude.

But the defection of some of these bodies on the subject of Slavery from the position they once held, and the equivocal and unfaithful conduct of the greater number in relation to that sin, have been to the overseers and members of this Church, as to myriads of fellow Christians in this country, an occasion of great and growing offence, grief, and perplexity, and the one obstacle to cordial sympathy and intercourse with many whom they should rejoice to honor and love as brethren.

What "the accursed thing" was in the camp of Israel, that Slavery appears to us to be in the United States. "Israel hath sinned, and they have also transgressed my covenant which I commanded them : for they have even taken of the accursed thing, and have also stolen, and dissembled also, and they have put it even among their own stuff."—Josh. vii. 11. The remedy demanded appears to us to be one and the same, if peace and prosperity are to be restored, and the Divine favor enjoyed. "Thou canst not stand before thine enemies, neither will I be with you any more, until ye take away the accursed thing from among you." In the crisis which has arisen, a great opportunity is given to the American Churches in the Northern and Western States, to clear themselves in this matter, and the call is urgent—"Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing ; and I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty."

Unto these churches, and particular congregations, ministers, and individuals, who, amid painful, difficult, and it may be very dangerous circumstances, are maintaining a consistent and faithful testimony against Slavery as sin, we would humbly and affectionately say—"Faint not—Be strong, and of good courage—Wait upon the Lord—Consider him that endureth such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds—In due season ye shall reap—Therefore, beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labor shall not be in vain in the Lord."

I remain, Sir, respectfully yours,

HENRY RENTON, *Convener*.

At EDINBURGH, and within the Synod Hall, Queen Street, on Wednesday, 22d May, 1861, 11 o'clock A. M.

The Synod of the United Presbyterian Church met and was constituted by the Rev. John Robson, D.D., Moderator, when the Minutes of last Sederunt were read.

Transmitted and read overture by the Presbytery of Kelso in favor of the Synod's renewal of the condemnation of American slavery, the tenor whereof follows :

"That the Disruption of the United States of America by the element of Slavery—issuing, as it has done, in a new Confederation of the Southern States, founded on the principle of Slavery, while the remaining Union of the Northern and Western States retains all that was defective in the original Constitution of the United States on that principle, and all the obnoxious laws which have been passed to uphold it—calls for much concern and vigilance on the part of all who are opposed to the monstrous iniquity of treating human beings as property, that in the close commercial relations subsisting between Great Britain and the American States, the public sentiment of this country may not be deteriorated, nor its hostility to Slavery abated—and calls no less for earnest sympathy and moral support on behalf of all those in the American States, who are withstanding that iniquity, and laboring for its overthrow ; and therefore that the Synod should at this time renew its condemnation of Slavery and its repudiation of fellowship with slaveholders, and testify its respect for and sympathy with those Christian Churches and ministers in the United States, who are maintaining a faithful and intrepid testimony against Slavery as sin, and who are consistently carrying out that testimony by refusing all fellowship with slaveholders."

The Presbytery of Kelso was heard in support of their overture, when the Synod, after reasoning, adopted the following resolutions :

1. That the Synod, in the different Bodies of which it consisted before the Union, as well as in its united state since, has ever regarded Slavery with unanimous and unqualified condemnation.

2. That the grounds on which this Synod condemns Slavery are not merely that it is impolitic, unjust, inhuman, and subversive of what are accounted the natural rights of man—personal liberty, the disposal of his own labor, and the enjoyment of its fruits—but that it is flagrantly opposed to the revealed

will of God, and is, therefore, a heinous sin, when maintained by those who possess the Holy Scriptures, and profess submission to them as the supreme rule of faith and practice.

3. That of all systems of oppression and legalized iniquity at present known in the world, this Synod regards that of Slavery in the United States of North America to be the most inexcusable and guilty, as upheld by a nation which proclaims that all men have equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and which enjoys a widely-preached Gospel, a free circulation of the Scriptures, a free press, and public schools for the education of all its children.

4. That the same principles which led this Synod and the congregations under its care to seek the total and immediate abolition of Slavery throughout the British colonies a quarter of a century ago, prompt and require its earnest sympathy with those in other lands who are laboring for a similar end, and especially with Christian brethren in the United States of America, who, in the present crisis of that country, are, amid great opposition and obloquy, contending for the abolition of Slavery throughout its territories.

5. That copies of these resolutions be sent to the Synods of the United Presbyterian and Reformed Presbyterian Churches in the U.S., and to the representatives and organs of the Christian Abolitionists of other Denominations in that country.

Appointed the Rev. Henry Renton and George C. Hutton, with Mr. James Henderson, Edinburgh, a Committee to transmit the resolutions to the parties named therein—Mr. Renton, Convener.

Extracted from the Records of Synod by DAVID CRAWFORD, *Synod Clerk*.

A VISIT WITH GERRIT SMITH

FRIEND DOUGLASS :—In time of deep affliction, I am enjoying a visit with our mutual friend, GERRIT SMITH. When we are troubled, it does us good to meet with a great sympathizing heart.

My dear son JOSEPH left our quiet home in Syracuse on Monday, July 8th. He enlisted in the 27th Regiment N. Y. V., Col. Slocum, Co. K., Captain Martin. He was in the battle of the 21st of July, was wounded, taken prisoner, carried by the enemy to Richmond, Va., and there died Aug. 22d. His age was 20 on last January 25th. The loss of my son, and the thought of his sufferings, deeply affect my mind ; but most of all am I depressed that he has been given up thus to die, while the Government is making such strenuous efforts to save slavery, the cause and the soul of the war.

It is cheering to find the pen of Mr. SMITH fully engaged to enlist the people and the Government to strike at slavery itself, and thus subdue the rebellion. May the Lord help him in this work !

This is Saturday, which day our friend regards as the Sabbath. We had religious exercises in his parlor. He read Psalm 46—"God is our refuge," &c. His comments on the expression "I will be exalted in the earth," constituted a sermon which I wish all the world could hear. He gives no place to the idea that we can exalt God by mere form worship. That God will so overrule all events, including this terrible war, so as to make more clearly manifest his own perfections, is a consoling thought in this time of great tribulation. It is in this way that he will be exalted in the earth.

Oct. 6th, A. M.—This morning, at family prayer, brother SMITH prayed, "O Lord pity our guilty nation, and lead both North and South to repentance for their great sin of oppression."

Monday A. M., Oct. 7th.—As I go to meet my sorrowing family, I take with me the sweet influence of the religious services of the "Church of Peterboro," in which I united yesterday, in the morning, and in the afternoon.

Yours, truly,

J. R. JOHNSON.

PETERBORO, Oct. 5th, 1861.

MR. BROWNSON ON IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

The October number of *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, edited by Mr. ORESTES A. BROWNSON, the ablest and most influential writer in the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, contains an able and patriotic essay on the different questions raised by the pro-slavery rebellion, and taking the ground that the only true way to put an end to the war is to issue a proclamation of emancipation on the part of the Federal Government. This important paper is too lengthy to be published entire in our columns, and we have only room for the following extracts:

We need not say, for the fact is well known to our readers, that no man, according to his ability and opportunity, has, since April, 1838, more strenuously opposed the Abolition movement in the free States than we have; not because we loved slavery, or had any sympathy with that hateful institution, but because we loved the Constitution of the Union, and because we believed that liberty at home and throughout the world was far more interested in preserving the Union of these States under the Federal Constitution, than in abolishing slavery as it existed in the Southern section of our common country. But we believe, and always have believed, that liberty, the cause of free institutions, the hopes of philanthropists and Christians, both at home and abroad, are more interested in preserving the Union and the integrity of the nation, than they are or can be in maintaining negro slavery. If we have opposed abolition heretofore, because we would preserve the Union, we must, *a fortiori*, oppose slavery whenever, in our judgment, its continuance becomes incompatible with the maintenance of the Union, or of our nation as a free republican State.

Certainly, we said in the article on 'The Great Rebellion,' in our last *Review*, the North has not taken up arms for the destruction of negro slavery, but for the maintenance of the Federal Government, the enforcement of the laws, and the preservation of the Union. This is true. The liberation of the slave is not the purpose and end of the war in which we are now engaged. The war is a war against rebellion, an unprovoked and wicked rebellion, engaged in by the rebels for the purpose of making this a great slaveholding republic, in which the labor of the country shall be performed by slaves, either black or white; and if, to defeat the rebellion, the destruction of slavery be rendered necessary and be actually effected, it will change nothing in the character or purpose of the war. It will have been necessitated by the rebellion, and the rebels will have only themselves to thank for the destruction or abolition they force us to adopt in defence of liberty, the Union, and the authority of the Government.

A WORD TO WORKING MEN.

Look at the question as we will, we have now no alternative but to subdue the rebels or be subjugated by them. We must either depose that Confederacy and enforce the authority of the Federal Government over all the rebellious States, or it will enforce its authority over the free States, and impose upon them its system of slave labor. If it enforces its authority over us there may still, perhaps, be liberty for a class or caste, but *our laboring classes will no longer be freemen*—they will be placed on a level with the negro slave on a Southern plantation. For the Christian commonwealth founded by our fathers, toiled for and bled for, we have re-established a Pagan republic more hostile to the rights of man and the rights of nations than was ever Pagan Greece or Pagan Rome. We put it to our Christian countrymen, if such is the commonwealth their fathers fought and suffered through the long seven years' war of the Revolution to establish, and if they can be contented to let the hopes of liberty in the New World set in a night of blackness and despair.

THE WAR A SERIOUS MATTER.

It is no time to mince our words or to study out honeyed phrases; we must call things by their right names, and treat all who are not for us as against us. We have something more than even the Constitution and laws to maintain; the very existence of the nation is at stake; and, as no means are scrupled at to destroy it, we have the right to use all the means which the law of preservation renders necessary or expedient. We wish our readers and the public at large to understand that we are in war, and to let it get through their heads that the war which the rebellion has forced upon us is no mimic war, is no child's play, and is not to be conducted to a successful issue on the principle of treating the rebels as friends, giving them every advantage and doing them no harm. They are in downright earnest, and are putting forth all their strength, and doing their best to subjugate us; and we also must be in downright earnest, put forth all our strength, and do our best to subject them. War cannot be conducted on peace principles or successfully conducted by men who do not enter into it with spirit, resolution, and energy.

THE SLAVE POPULATION.

* * * * This brings us to the question of the slave population in the rebellious States. In these States there are over three million of the population held by the laws or usages of those States as slaves. These people are an integral portion of the people of the United States, owe allegiance to the Federal Government, and are entitled to the protection of that Government. The Government has the same right to make friends and allies of them, and to enroll and arm them against the rebellion, that it has to make friends and allies, or to enroll and arm the white population of Western Virginia or of Eastern Tennessee. It makes nothing against this that these people have heretofore been slaves by the laws or the usages of the States in which they reside; for those laws or usages are deprived of all force against the Union by the very act of rebellion. Rebellion dissolves all laws for the protection of the life or property of the rebels. By the very act of rebellion, the rebel forfeits to the Government against which he rebels both his property and his life, and holds henceforth neither, save at its mercy or discretion. If it were not so, the Government would have no right to confiscate the property of rebels, or to attempt to suppress a rebellion by force of arms. If the slaves held in the rebellious States are property, they are forfeited to the Government, and the Government may confiscate them, as cotton, rice, tobacco, or any other species of property found in the hands of the rebels. The same principle that gives to the Government the right to confiscate a bale of cotton owned by a rebel, gives it a right to confiscate every negro claimed by a rebel master. This is perfectly clear, and is implied in the recent act of Congress on the subject. But if these people held as slaves are not property, they are and should be regarded as citizens of the United States, owing allegiance to the Federal Government, liable to be called into the service of the Union in the way and manner it deems most advisable, and, if loyal, entitled to the same protection from the Government as any other class of loyal citizens. Nobody can pretend that the Federal Government is obliged, by virtue of the laws or usages heretofore existing in the slave States, to treat these people as property. Whatever might have been its obligation before the rebellious acts of those States, that obligation is no longer in force.

THE BORDER STATES AND FREEDOM.

But if it be required to treat them as free and loyal citizens by the military operations for the preservation of the Union, or even to remove the causes of the present rebellion, the Government is bound so to treat them. The only doubt that can arise is as to the fact, whether it would or would not prove useful to this end. It may be objected to such a measure that it would deprive us of the aid

of Western Virginia and Eastern Tennessee, and drive into open hostility to the Union Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri. This objection deserves grave consideration. But it is in substance the objection that has embarrassed the Government from the outset, and compelled it to take only halfway measures to suppress the rebellion. For ourselves, we cannot respect the fear to which this obligation appeals. Fear is the worst possible counsellor in the world, and the government that hesitates to adopt the best policy for fear of alienating its friends, is lost. Let the lines be at once sharply drawn between our friends and our enemies. In a crisis like the present, lukewarm friends, or friends who will be our friends only by virtue of certain concessions to their interests or prejudices, are more embarrassing than open enemies, and do more to weaken our forces than if arrayed in open hostility against us. If these States are for the Union, they will insist on no conditions incompatible with the preservation of the Union; they will make sacrifices for the Union, as well as the other loyal States; and there is no reason why they should not. There is neither reason nor justice in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the great States northwest of the Ohio, pouring out their blood and treasure for the gratification of the slaveholding pretensions of Maryland, Kentucky, or Missouri. The citizens of these States who own slaves, are as much bound, if the preservation of the Union requires it, to give up their property in slaves, as we at the farther North are to pour out our blood and treasure to put down a rebellion that threatens alike them and us. If they love their few slaves more than they do the Union, let them go out of the Union. We are stronger to fight the battles of the Union without them, than we are with them.

EMANCIPATION.

But we have referred only to the slaves in the rebellious States, and, if it is, or if it becomes a military necessity to liberate all the slaves of the Union, and to treat the whole present slave population as freemen and citizens, it would be no more than just and proper that, at the conclusion of the war, the citizens of loyal States, or the loyal citizens of loyal sections of the rebellious States, should be indemnified at a reasonable rate for the slaves that may have been liberated. The States and sections of States named have not a large number of slaves, and, if the Union is preserved, it would not be a very heavy burden on it to pay their ransom; and to paying it no patriotic or loyal citizen of the free States would raise the slightest objection. The objection, therefore, urged, though grave, need not be regarded as insuperable; and we think the advantages of the measure, in a military point of view, would be far greater than any disadvantage we have to apprehend from it.

Whether the time for this important measure has come or not, it is for the President, as Commander-in-Chief of our armies, to determine. But, in our judgment, no single measure could be adopted by the Government that would more effectually aid its military operations, do more to weaken the rebel forces, and to strengthen our own. Four million of people in the slave States, feeling that the suppression of the rebellion and the triumph of the Union secures to them and their children forever the status of free citizens, are more than a hundred thousand men taken from the forces of the enemy, and twice that number added to our own; for they would not only compel the rebels to keep a large force that might otherwise be employed at home, to protect their own wives and children, but would deprive them of the greater portion of that labor by which they now sustain their armies. Now slavery is to them a source of strength; it would then be to them a source of weakness. Its abolition would, in our judgment, be striking the enemy at his most vulnerable point, precisely where we can best sunder the sinews of his strength, and deal him the most fatal blow.

Moreover, it would not only bring to the

assistance of the Federal arms the co-operation of the whole colored population of the Union, but would secure us, what we now lack, the sympathy and moral aid of the whole civilized world, and remove all danger of our coming into conflict with either France or England. The war would be seen then likely to effect a result with which Englishmen and Frenchmen could sympathize, and, instead of wishing for the success of the Southern Confederacy, they would wish with all their hearts for the success of the Federal arms. It would be more than this. It would bring to the aid of our volunteer force from one hundred to two hundred thousand brave and stalwart volunteers from the free States, aye, and even many from the slave States themselves, who will not and cannot be induced to volunteer their services in a war which, even if successful, promises to leave the institution of slavery not only existing, but more firmly established than ever. Everybody knows that slavery is at the bottom of the whole controversy, and that the real object of the Southern leaders is not simply to protect slavery against Abolition movements where it exists, but to extend it over the whole Union, and make the American republic a great slaveholding republic. And there are men in large numbers amongst us—men who have had no sympathy with Abolitionists, who see and understand very well that, even were we successful in putting down the present rebellion, no real Union between the North and the South could be restored, and that no durable peace between them could be re-established, if slavery continued to exist. These men enter not, and will not enter heartily into the war, unless they see clearly and feel fully assured that it will result in the final and total extinction of slavery throughout the Union, and all the territory it may now possess or hereafter acquire.

SLAVE LABOR AND FREE LABOR.

The present rebellion proves, what thoughtful and far-seeing men in all sections of the Union have long seen and said, that the preservation of the Union with the slave system of labor extending over one-half of it, is, in the ordinary course of human affairs, an impossibility. Senator Seward, or rather Mein Herr Dielenbach in our *Review* before him, was right in saying there is an 'irrepressible conflict' between the two systems. They cannot long co-exist together in peace and harmony; there is an irrepressible tendency in each to exclude the other; and no possible wisdom or prudence on the part of any administration can harmonize their co-existence under one and the same government. You must make your election between the systems and adopt for the whole country either the slave system or the free labor system; and the real significance of the contest in which we are now engaged is, as to which of these systems shall be the American system.

However homogeneous in race or character, habits or manners, may be the people of a country in the outset, they separate and grow gradually into two distinct peoples, with almost entirely different ideas, habits and customs, if one half of them in the one section adopt the slave system, and the other half, in the other, the free labor system. We have already in the United States, notwithstanding our common origin, our common language, the similarity of our laws, and our habitual intercourse, grown almost into two distinct nations. The Confederates are Americans indeed, for they have been born and bred on American soil; but they no longer retain the original American character; while in the free States, bating the alterations effected by foreign emigration, that character is substantially preserved. We of the North are the same people that made the Revolution, won American Independence, and established the Federal Government. This divergence showed itself even at the time of the Revolution; and it has been growing greater and greater from the beginning of the present century; and if the two systems of labor are continued on American soil, must continue to be still greater and greater, till the people of the two

sections grow up into two absolutely distinct and mutually hostile nations, no longer capable, but by the subjugation of the one by the other, of existing under one and the same government. The only way this divergence can be checked, the unity and homogeneity of the whole American people recovered and preserved, is by the assimilation of the labor systems of the North and the South.

We of the North cannot and ought not to accept the labor system of the South.—But the slave States, by their unprovoked rebellion, have given us an opportunity of performing an act of long delayed justice to the negro population of the Union, and of assimilating the Southern labor system to ours.—This assimilation is at the bottom of the Southern rebellion, and the South has risen in arms against the Union chiefly for the purpose of extending her labor system over all the free States. In doing so she gives us the right, in our own self defence, to extend our free labor system over all the slave States—a right which, but for her rebellion, we should not have had under the Constitution.

THE GAIN OF LIBERTY.

If this prove a disadvantage to the Southern States, owing to the peculiar character of their laboring population, they have no right to complain, for it is a disadvantage they have brought upon themselves. But this will be a disadvantage only as compared with us of the North; for it will be better for the South herself to have her negro population free laborers than it is to have them slaves. In counting the population of the South, we must not count merely her white, but also her black and colored population. The moral, spiritual and material well-being of her four million of black and colored people must be considered, as well as the moral, spiritual and material well-being of her eight million of whites. These black and colored people are as much human beings, whose welfare is as important and as necessary to be consulted by the statesman, the political economist, the moralist, and the Christian, as that of any other portion of her population; and what they would gain by their emancipation should be thrown into the balance against what might be lost by their former owners. But even the three hundred and forty-seven thousand slave proprietors would, in reality, lose nothing, or gain in moral more than they would lose in material prosperity. We do not believe Southern society would, in case of emancipation, be equal to what it would be if the whole population were of the white race. The negro element would remain in that society, and, wherever it remains, it will be an inferior element; but far less so as free than as enslaved. The white population of the South must always suffer this drawback for having collected, or submitted to the collection of a large African population on their soil, and they have no right to complain if obliged to make expiation, as long as the world stands, for having introduced and sustained the institution of negro slavery. But, aside from the disadvantage of having its laboring population of a race with which the white race will not mingle, the South would gain by the assimilation of her labor system to that of the North.

EMANCIPATION POSSIBLE WITHOUT INDUSTRIAL RUIN.

Mr. Augustin Cochran has proved, in the work before us, that slavery can be abolished, and the slaves converted into free laborers, without any serious detriment, even to the former slave proprietors. We all know that free labor is more economical than slave labor, and, therefore, that a freeman is worth more, under the point of view of national wealth, than a slave. The conversion of the four million of slaves now in the Southern States into freemen would very much increase instead of diminish the aggregate wealth of those States; and if a portion of this increased aggregate wealth should pass from the hands of a few slave proprietors, and into the hands of those who have heretofore been allowed to hold no property, the aggregate

well-being of the whole community would also be augmented instead of diminished, and therefore the South, regarded as a whole, or looking to her whole population, would be unquestionably a great gainer by the change. It would not in any respect be depopulated or impoverished, but would be in the way of a more rapid increase of its population, and of that wealth which constitutes the real strength and prosperity of a State. What we propose, then, would in no respect be ruinous, or even injurious, to the Southern States themselves, but would be a real advantage to them, and secure them after the peace all the greatness, strength, and prosperity States with a mixed population are capable of. The proposition, then, involves no wrong, no injustice, no injury to the white population of the Southern States; while it would be an act of justice, though tardy justice, to the negro race, so long held in bondage, and forced to forego all their own rights and interests for the pride, wealth, and pleasure of their white masters.

It seems to us, then, highly important, in every possible view of the case, that the Federal Government should avail itself of the opportunity given it by the Southern rebellion to perform this act of justice to the negro race: to assimilate the labor system of the South to that of the North; to remove a great moral and political wrong; and to wipe out the foul stain of slavery, which has hitherto sullied the otherwise bright escutcheon of our republic. We are no fanatics on the subject of slavery, as is well known to our readers, and we make no extraordinary pretensions to modern philanthropy; but we cannot help fearing that, if the Government lets slip the present opportunity of doing justice to the negro race, and of placing our republic throughout in harmony with modern civilization, God, who is especially the God of the poor and the oppressed, will never give victory to our arms, or suffer us to succeed in our efforts to suppress rebellion, and restore peace and integrity to the Union. We have too long turned a deaf ear to the cry of the enslaved; we have too long suffered our hearts to grow callous to the wrongs of the down-trodden in our own country; we have too long been willing to grow rich, to erect our palaces, and gather luxuries around us by the toil, the sweat, and the blood of our enslaved brethren. May it not be that the cry of these brethren has already entered the ear of Heaven, and that He has taken up their cause, and determined that, if we refuse any longer to break their chains, to set them free, and to treat them as our brothers and fellow-citizens, we shall no longer exist as a nation? May it not be that, in this matter, we have Him to reckon with, and that the first step toward success is justice to the wronged? We confess that we fear, and deeply fear, if we let slip the opportunity which the Southern rebellion gives us to do justice to the slave, or to make his cause ours, in vain shall we have gathered our forces and gone forth to battle. We fear God may be using the rebels as instruments of our punishment—instruments themselves to be destroyed, when through them our own destruction has been effected. We speak solemnly and in deep earnest; for he fights at terrible odds who has the infinite and just God against him. It may be that an all-wise Providence has suffered this rebellion for the purpose of giving us an opportunity of emancipating rightfully, without destroying, but as a means of preserving, the Union, the men, women, and children now held in bondage, and of redeeming our past offences. If so, most fearful will be His judgments upon us, if we neglect the opportunity, and fail to avail ourselves of the right. Now is our day of grace. This opportunity neglected, our day of grace may be over, and our republic follow the fate of all others, and become a hissing and a by-word in all the earth. Which may God in His infinite mercy avert.

Our readers will be pleased to learn that the Rev. Abram Pyne has secured the nomination for Assembly by the Republican and People's Conventions of Wayne County.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER ON THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES.

The following masterly and patriotic speech was made by Hon. Charles Sumner at the recent Republican State Convention in Massachusetts which renominated Gov. Andrew :

FELLOW-CITIZENS :—In meeting my fellow-citizens of Massachusetts, who have come together on this occasion from all parts of the Commonwealth, I find myself in a familiar scene, but I feel that there has been a change. Yes ! there has been a great change, and it is felt in our Convention.

We are no longer met, as so often in times past, for purposes of controversy, or to sustain our cause by argument. That hour has passed. Formerly I have exposed to you the atrocities of the Fugitive Slave Bill ; I have rejoiced to show that freedom was rational and slavery sectional ; I have striven to prevent the extension of slavery into the territories ; I have vindicated especially freedom in Kansas, assailed by slaveholding conspirators ; I have exposed the tyrannical usurpations of the slave oligarchy ; and I have dragged into day the whole vast intense barbarism of slavery. But these topics have now passed into history, and are no longer of practical interest. They are not of to-day.

Let us rejoice that at least so much has been gained, and from the extent of our present triumphs let us take hope and courage for the future. Providence will be with the good cause in times to come, as in times past. Others may despair : I do not. Others may see gloom : I cannot. Others may hesitate : I will not. Already the country has been saved. Great as may seem to be its present peril, its peril was greater far while it was sinking year after year under the rule of slavery. Often have I exclaimed, in times past, that our first great object was the emancipation of the National Government, so that it should no longer be the slave of slavery, ready to do its bidding in all things. But this victory has been won. It was won first by the ballot-box, when Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States ; and it was won the second time by the cartridge-box, when, at the command of the President, the guns of Fort Sumter returned the fire of the Rebel artillery. Such was the madness of slavery that the first was not enough. Unhappily, the second was needed to complete the work.

The slave oligarchy, which, according to the vaunt of a slaveholding Senator, has ruled the Republic for more than fifty years ; which has stamped its degrading character upon the national forehead ; which has entered into and possessed not only the politics, but the literature and even the religion of the country ; which has embroiled us at home and given us a bad name abroad ; which has wielded at will President, Cabinet, and even judicial tribunals ; which has superseded public opinion by substituting its own immoral behests ; which has appropriated to itself the offices and honors of the Republic ; which has established slavery as the single test and shibboleth of favor ; which, after opening all our territories to this wrong, was already promising to renew the slave trade and all its unutterable woes ; nay more, which, in the instinct of that tyranny through which it ruled, was beating down all the safeguards of human rights—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and security of person, and delivering the whole country to a rule whose vulgarity was second only to its madness ; this slave oligarchy has been dislodged from the National Government, never more to return. Thus far, at least, has emancipation prevailed. The greatest slave of all is free.

Surely, if at any moment we are disposed to be disheartened—if the future is not always clear before us, we may find ample occasion for joy in the victory already won.—Pillars like those of Hercules might fitly mark this progress.

Among the results of this victory is one which we may especially enjoy on this occa-

sion. It is slavery which has been the occasion of our party divisions, keeping men asunder who ought to act together. But with the expulsion of this disturbing influence, the occasion for our division has ceased. All patriots—all men who truly love their country—may now set together ; no matter in what party combination they may have formerly appeared ; no matter of what accent is the speech by which our present duties are declared ; call them Democrats, Union men, natives or foreigners, what you will, are we not all engaged in a common cause ? Nor will I claim as yet the highest praise for those with whom I am most intimately associated. I have read history too well not to remember that Hannibal, in his campaigns, relied less on his own Carthaginians than on his Spanish infantry and Numidian horse.

The Government is assailed by a rebellion without precedent in human history. Never before since Satan warred upon the Almighty has rebellion assumed such a front ; and never before has it begun in such a cause. The rebels are numerous and powerful, and their cause is slavery.

It is the very essence of rebellion to be audacious, unhesitating, unscrupulous. Rebellion sticks at nothing ; least of all, will a rebellion which began in slavery. It can be successfully encountered only by a vigor and energy which shall surpass its own. Patriotism surely is not less potent as a motive than treason. It must be invoked. By all the memories of your fathers, who founded this Republic and delivered to you the precious heritage ; and by all the sentiments of gratitude for the good you have enjoyed beneath its protecting care, you are summoned to its defense. Defense, did I say ? It is with mortification that I utter the word ; but you all know the truth.

The rebel conspirators have set upon us, and now besiege the National Government.—They besiege it at Washington, where are the President, and his Cabinet, and the National archives. They besiege it at Fortress Monroe on the Atlantic, at St. Louis on the Mississippi, and now they besiege it in Kentucky. Everywhere we are on the defensive. Strongholds have been wrested from us. Soldiers gathered under the folds of our National flag have been compelled to surrender. Citizens, whose only offense has been their loyalty, have been driven from their homes. Bridges have been burned. Railways have been disabled. Steamers and ships have been seized. The largest navy-yard of the country has been appropriated.—Commerce has been hunted on the sea, and property, wherever it can be reached, ruthlessly robbed or destroyed. Only within a few days we have read the order of one Buckner, a Rebel commander in Kentucky, directing the destruction of a most important lock, by which Green River had been rendered navigable. Pardon me if I read this intercurrent order. It is instructive, as showing the spirit with which this rebellion is waged.

Bowling Green, September, 1861.

Mr. George W. Triplatt.

My dear Sir :—Yours is received. Lock No. 1 must be destroyed. I rely upon your friends at Owenborough to do it. Not an hour must be lost. Its destruction is a great deal to me in crippling our adversary. Assemble our friends without delay in sufficient force to accomplish the object. One of the best ways is to open all the gates but one, and to dig down behind the wall at both gates ; to put one or two kegs of powder behind the wall, apply a slow match, and blow the wall into the lock. If possible, it should be done in such a way as to leave a strong current through the lock, which will empty the dam. Provide everything in advance. Do not fail. It is worth an effort.

(Signed)

S. H. BUCKNER.

It is still doubtful if the work of destruction was accomplished according to this Rebel order. But the spirit is here shown which would sweep away one of the most valuable of the internal improvements of Kentucky, a part of the pride and wealth of the State.

Then you ask in whose name all this has been done. The answer is easy. Not in

the name of God and the Continental Congress, as Ethan Allen summoned Ticonderoga, but 'in the name of slavery.' Yes ; in the name of slavery has all this crime, destruction and ravage been perpetrated.

Look at the war as you will, and you will always see slavery. Never were the words of the Roman orator more applicable : *Nul-lum facinus extitit nisi per te ; nullum flagitium sine te*. Slavery is its inspiration ; its motive power ; its end and aim. It is often said that the war will make an end of slavery. This is probable. But it is surer still that the overthrow of slavery will at once make an end of the war.

If I am correct in this statement, which I believe is beyond question, then do reason, justice and policy all unite and declare that the war must be brought to bear directly on the grand conspirator, and omnipresent enemy, which is slavery. Not to do this is to take upon ourselves, in the present contest, all the weakness of slavery, while we leave to the rebels its boasted resources of military strength. Not to do this, is to squander life and treasure in a vain masquerade of battle, which can have no practical result.

Believe me, fellow-citizens, I know all the imagined difficulties and the unquestioned responsibilities of this suggestion. But if you are in earnest, the difficulties will at once disappear, and the responsibilities are such as you will gladly bear. This is not the first time that a knot, hard to untie has been cut by the sword ; and we all know that danger flies before the brave man. Believe that you can, and you can. The will only is needed.—Courage now is the highest prudence.

It is not necessary, even, according to a familiar phrase, to carry the war into Africa. It will be enough to carry Africa into the war ; in any form, any quantity, any way.—The moment this is done, rebellion will begin its bad luck, and the union will be secure forever.

History teaches by example. The occasion does not allow me to show how completely this monitor points the way. I content myself with two instances of special mark—one from ancient Greece, and the other from ancient Rome.

The most fatal day for ancient Greece was the defeat at Cheronæa, when Philip of Macedon triumphed over forces in which Demosthenes was enlisted as a soldier. Athens was thrown into consternation. Her great orator had ignobly fled. Another orator, second only to him—Socrates—died suddenly on hearing the report of the battle. The Book of Fate seemed about to close, while Athens sank to be a mere dependency of Philip.—Then it was that another orator in the assembly of the people suddenly brought forward a proposition to emancipate the slaves. The royal Philip, already strong in his victory, trembled. King and conqueror, he was also statesman, and he saw well that such a proposition, begun in Athens, would shake all Greece, even to his powerful throne, which the young Alexander was then preparing to mount. His triumphant course was at once arrested, and peace secured.

The other instance is in Roman history. You will find it in Plutarch's Life of Caius Marius. This experienced general, who, in the civil conflicts of the time, had been driven from Rome, and found shelter in the ruins of Carthage, was able at last to effect a landing in Italy. Thus is the incident recorded :

'Marius, upon this news, determined to hasten. He took with him some Marusia horse which he had levied in Africa, and a few others that were come to him from Italy, in all not amounting to above a thousand men, and with this handful began his voyage. He arrived at a port of Tuscany, called Telamon, and as soon as he was landed proclaimed liberty to the slaves. The name of Marius brought down numbers, the ablest of which he enlisted, and in a short time he had a great army on foot, with which he filled forty ships.'

Thus far Plutarch. It is needless to add that Marius found himself soon master of Rome.

These are historic instances. I do not ad-

duce them that you should blindly follow them; but simply that you should see how in times past defeat has been stayed and victory won by a generous word for freedom.—Men die and disappear; but the human family continues the same in passions and tears as when Philip was frightened back from Athens, and when Marius was borne in triumph to Rome.

To these historic instances, let me add an admitted principle of the ancient Roman law. According to that law, the state of slavery might be terminated in three different manners: First, by manumission; secondly, by way of reward to the slave; and thirdly, by way of punishment to the master. If the master had failed to be a good citizen, he was punished, so that at the same time he should suffer in property and others should gain what is more than property—freedom. But I do not cite even this principle of a time honored jurisprudence for your Government. I will not doubt that, in the unparalleled circumstances by which we are now encompassed, justice will be done.

Already the way is easy. A simple declaration that all men coming within the lines of the United States troops shall be regarded as free men, will be in strict conformity to the Constitution, and also with precedents. The Constitution knows no man as a slave. It treats all within its jurisdiction as *persons*, while the exceptional provision for the rendition of *persons* held to service or labor, you will observe, is carefully confined to such as have escaped into another State. It is clear, therefore, that there can be no sanction under the Constitution for turning a camp into a slave-pen, or for turning military officers into slave-hunters. Let this plain construction be adopted, and then, as our lines advance, Freedom will be established, and our national flag in its march will wave with new glory.

A brave General, whom Massachusetts has given to the country—though commencing his career with prejudices derived from the pro-slavery school of politicians—has known how to see this question in its true light. I mean, of course, General Butler. He has declared in his letter to the Secretary of War, dated Fort-ress Monroe, 30th July, 1861, with reference to fugitive slaves, that it is his duty 'to take the same care of these men, women and children, houseless, homeless, and unprovided for, as he would of the same number of men, women and children who for their attachment to the Union, had been driven or allowed to flee from the Confederate States.' These words are better for his reputation than a victory.

Another General, born in Kentucky, and living and dying in the South—Major-General Gaines of the Army of the United States—laid down the same rule as long ago as 1838. It will be found in the documents of Congress. 'The military officer,' said he, 'can enter into no judicial examination of the claim of one man to the bone and muscle of another as property. Nor could he, as a military officer, know what the laws of Florida were while engaged in maintaining the Federal Government by force of arms. In such case, he could only be guided by the laws of war; and whatever may be the laws of any State, they must yield to the safety of the Federal Government.'

This proposition, though of seeming simplicity, would be of incalculable efficacy if honestly and sincerely enforced. Then would our camps become nurseries of freemen, and every common soldier would be a chain-breaker.

But there is another agency that may be invoked, which is at the same time under the Constitution, and above the Constitution; I mean Martial law. It is under the Constitution, because it is distinctly recognized by the Supreme Court among the functions of our Government. It is above the Constitution, because, when set in motion, like necessity, it knows no other law. For the time it is law and Constitution. All other agencies, small and great, executive, legislative, and even judicial, are absorbed in this transcend-

ent triune power, which for the time declares its absolute will, while it holds alike the scales of justice and the sword of the executioner. The existence of this power—nobody questions. If it has been rarely exercised in our country, and never on an extended scale, the power none the less has a fixed place in our political system. As well strike out the kindred law of self-defence, which belongs alike to States and individuals. Martial law is only one form of self-defence.

That this law might be employed against slavery was first proclaimed in the House of Representatives by a Massachusetts statesman, who was a champion of Freedom, John Quincy Adams. His authority is such that I content myself with placing the law under the sanction of his name, which becomes more authoritative when we consider the circumstances under which the doctrine was put forth, repeated and then again vindicated.

It was as early as 25th of May, 1836, that Mr. Adams first expounded what he called 'The war power and treaty-making power of the Constitution.' Then it was that he declared:

'From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil service or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every way in which it can be interfered with, from the claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed to the cession of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power.'

Again, on the 7th of June, 1841, after many years of reflection, and added experience in public life, he terrified slave-masters by showing that universal emancipation might be accomplished through this extraordinary power.

Afterward, on the 14th of April, 1842, for the third time he stated the doctrine in the House of Representatives, and challenged criticism or reply. I forbear to read the whole speech, though it is worthy of constant repetition. An extract will suffice:

'I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States but the Commander of the army has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves.'

And then again he asks, in words applicable to the present hour:

'If civil war come—if insurrection come—if this beleaguered capital, is this besieged Government to see millions of its subjects in arms, and have no right to break the fetters which they are forging into swords? No! *The war power of the Government can sweep this institution into the Gulf.*

The representatives of slavery fumed and raged at these words and at their venerable author; but nobody answered them; and they have stood ever since in the records of Congress, firm and impregnable as adamant.

In the protracted controversy which is now drawing to its close, Massachusetts has done much. She first gave the example of Universal Freedom within her borders; and ever since that early day she has borne a leading part in all efforts against slavery. It is her children who have never failed in this cause where anything was to be done, whether by word or deed. Massachusetts has for years borne the burden of this discussion, and also the heavier burden of obloquy which has long rested upon all who pleaded for the slave.—It is Massachusetts who, with patriotic ardor, first leaped to the rescue when the Capital was menaced by slavery, and, by a happy coincidence, on the 19th of April of this year, consecrated herself anew by the blood of her children; thus being at the same time first to do and first to suffer. It was also a Massachusetts General who first in this conflict proclaimed that our camps could not contain a slave; and it was an illustrious Massachusetts statesman who first unfolded the beneficent principle by virtue of which, constitutionally,

legally, and without excess of any kind, the President, or a Commanding General, may become more than a conqueror, even a Liberator.

Massachusetts will be false to herself, if she fails at this moment. And yet I would not be misunderstood. Feeling most profoundly that there is now an opportunity, such as rarely occurs in human annals, for incalculable good—seeing clearly that there is one spot, like the heel of Achilles, where this great rebellion may be wounded to death—I calmly deliver the whole question to the judgment of those on whom the responsibility rests, contenting myself with reminding you that there are times when *not to act* carries with it a greater responsibility than *to act*. It is enough for us to review the unquestioned power of the Government, to handle for a moment its mighty weapons, which are yet allowed to slumber without assuming to declare that the hour has come when they shall flash against the sky.

But may a good Providence save our Government from that everlasting regret which must ensue if a great opportunity is lost by which all the bleeding wounds of war shall be staunches—by which prosperity shall be again established, and peace be linked forever with liberty. Saul was cursed for not hewing Agag in pieces when in his hands, and Ahab was cursed for not destroying Benhadad. Let no such curses ever descend upon our Government.

'So many slaves, so many enemies!' Unless this ancient proverb has ceased to be true, there are now 4,000,000 of enemies intermingled with the rebels; being 4,000,000 of allies to the National Government. Can we afford to reject this natural alliance, inspired by a common interest, and consecrated by humanity? There is another motive to such an alliance which cannot be forgotten. Without it insurrection will be inevitable, and when it comes it will be wild and lawless.—This should be prevented, if possible. But if Liberty does not come from the tranquil and beneficent action of the Government, it will come in blood, amid the confusion of families. All this was foreseen by the Emperor of Russia, when, on the 21st of September, 1858, he called upon his nobles to unite with him in Emancipation, 'which,' he nobly declared, 'ought to begin *from above* to the end that it may not come *from below*;' and now this very year 20,000,000 of Russian serfs have peacefully passed out of the house of bondage. Cherished by this great example, let us not forget that *it began from above*.

There is another practical advantage where the action proceeds from the Government.—The interests of loyal citizens can be protected. Compensation may relieve the hardships of individual cases; nor can I object. Never should any question of money be allowed to interfere with human freedom. Better an empty Treasury than a single slave. A bridge of gold would be cheap, if demanded by the retreating fiend.

Fellow citizens, I have spoken frankly; for such has always been my habit. And never was there greater need for frankness. Let patriots understand each other, and they cannot widely differ. All will unite in sustaining the Government, and in driving back the rebels. But this cannot be done by any half-way measures, or by any lukewarm conduct. Do not hearken to the voice of slavery, no matter what its tones of persuasion. Believe me, its friendship is more deadly than its enmity. If you are wise, prudent, conservative, practical, you will strike quick and hard—strike, too, where the blow will be most felt—strike at the mainspring of the Rebellion. Strike in the name of the Union, which only in this way can be restored—in the name of Peace, which is vain without Union, and in the name of Liberty also, which will bring both Peace and Union in her glorious train.

Hon. Gerrit Smith delivered a lecture in the Church of the Puritans, New York, on Wednesday evening last, to a large audience. The subject was 'The State and Needs of the Country.'

AN ELOQUENT SPEECH FROM GOV. ANDREW,
OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The 20th Regiment of Massachusetts, on their way to Washington, were hospitably entertained in New York at the Park Barracks, three weeks ago, by the 'Sons of Massachusetts.' Gov. Andrew, who happened to be in that city at the time, addressed the assemblage as follows :

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN :—This occasion, in no sense and by no right, is mine.—No part of its honors pertain to me. Here present, in the city of New York, called by engagements that pertain to my duty, I had the happiness of finding myself in a position to be enabled to unite with you in doing honor to the 20th Regiment of Massachusetts volunteers. (Applause.) To my old friend, Col. Lee, (three cheers for Col. Lee,) who, with generous devotion and patriotic alacrity, without a moment's delay or hesitation, drew his sword, at my invitation, to lead a regiment of Massachusetts soldier citizens, and to his accomplished officers and brave men, be all these honors due. Upon the heads of such as they, Providence will pour its benignant benedictions, and upon their memories the most fragrant gratitude of our posterity shall rest. (Loud applause.) Whatever fortunes may befall them in the field, whether they shall return with their shields or borne upon them, forever and forever be those brave men remembered as among the earliest, among the best, among the truest, firmest and most patriotic, who have drawn or will hereafter draw the sword for American liberty and constitutional law. (Applause.)

And now, sirs, I cannot at this moment forget that our sister New England State of Connecticut is at this very hour resigning to the dust all that was mortal of one New England man whose name and memory shall be as immortal as the stars—Lyon, (loud applause,) the great, the heroic, the accomplished soldier, the true-hearted and unflinching patriot, who at the head of his column fell beyond the distant waters of the Mississippi; New England, Connecticut, reclaimed his ashes and mingled them with her dust. But his spirit, hovering over this busy, this distracted but yet hopeful scene of care, and toil, and aspiration, is with us now and always—To him, and to such as he, all that grateful hearts can pay, of solemn and yet joyful memory, belongs. He sleeps well in his soldier's grave. Others, too, have accompanied him to the silent land, marching through the Jordan of death beneath the American flag for American rights. (Applause.) And they know how happy, how sweet it is to die for such a cause. (Cheers.) To such as he and his, what can we say, what better than in the words of the great poet of British liberty :—

Flung to the heedless winds, or on the waters cast,
Their ashes shall be watched, and gathered at the last;
And from their scattered dust, around us and abroad,
Shall spring a precious seed of witnesses for God.

For, sirs, this is not a war for ourselves alone, for country alone; it is a war for humanity, and for God. To us was entrusted this art of political salvation—Democratic Republican Liberty, conserved under constitutional forms. By our fathers to us it was transmitted. Into our present charge has it been placed, to be saved and transmitted to our posterity. Democratic Republican Liberty is the political gospel of our time. (Cheers.) To us, of the United States of America, the people of this Constitutional Federal Union, was committed this precious charge. Not for us alone, but for all humanity, that beneath the shadow of our tree of liberty the children's children may come, not only of the remotest generations of our own posterity, but of the wayworn wanderers of all lands and climes. (Cheers.)—And as the infinite Father of all men and all spirits carries in the bosom of his embracing love nations and peoples, looking down thro'

the vista of eternal years, and prophesying and preparing good for us all, so did He commit to us, as the priests of this political gospel, its preservation and transmission, not only for ourselves, but for all nations and peoples of the earth.

This, then, is a war for humanity. Challenged by rebellion, insulted by traitors, stabbed by the political assassins of liberty, the men of Massachusetts—whom you have so generously commended—marching shoulder to shoulder with the men of New York and of all other loyal States, have waked up to the trumpet-call of their country's woe, and their country's hope, to re-establish upon immutable foundations the rights thus challenged, and to confirm the national life, thus assailed by men whom History will only remember to call them accursed. This war, sirs, is in no just sense a sectional one.—It is a war of ideas, I grant you; but ideas are universal, and not sectional. (Applause.) It is even American only in the sense that our liberty is American, embracing within the ample folds of its care, of its promises and its hope, all these who, residing with us, and denizenized among us, are faithful to our cause.

Nor could I fail to call to your recollection, that in the recent brilliant exploit of our naval and our military arms off the coast of North Carolina, a citizen of New York, the venerable and gallant Commodore Stringham, (cheers,) united his well-earned laurels with those that garlanded the younger brow of a Massachusetts General—Butler. (Cheers for Benj. F. Butler.) When would it be possible for me to forget that among the heroes of that day, there was none more deserving of their country's honor, or of proud mention on the brightest page of her history, than the Colonel and men of the New York 20th Regiment of volunteers, under the command of an adopted citizen, from the German Fatherland, Col. Max Weber? (Three cheers for Max Weber.) I cannot describe the emotion which all of you must have felt, and in sympathy with which all true hearts must have beat, as they read the record of the exploits of that gallant German regiment from New York, who, upon the edge of the darkness of night, amid the rolling surf upon that to them untried shore, launched their frail and tossing boats, and trusted themselves to the guidance of God, beneath the stars and the sky, cut off during all that long night of exposure and peril from all human sympathy and aid. (Enthusiastic applause.)

If Massachusetts deserves to be remembered to day, so, too, do the countrymen of Col. Weber, two companies of whom compose a portion of the gallant command of Col. Lee, now marching as volunteers from Massachusetts. (Applause.) Neither sectional in any sense, nor national in any narrow sense of exclusiveness, but universal as American statesmanship, broad, comprehensive as the idea of liberty, which is bounded by no land, native of no clime, the inheritance of no particular people, no nation, clime, country, kindred or color under Heaven, (tremendous applause) this cause is the cause of constitutional liberty and the rights of universal humanity. I am no prophet, and no prophet's son. I dare not attempt to cast a horoscope of the future, but I believe in the guiding providence of Almighty God. I know, if aught resting in human belief or even human consciousness can be spoken of as knowledge, that He who guided Columbus over the seas; He who led our fathers to the New England shore; He who preserved them from the dangers of the seas, and the dangers of the wilderness, and the dangers of savage tribes; He who planted the seed of the great tree of liberty on the inhospitable shore of Plymouth, and has watered it, and blessed it, and has led us up till now through the storms of battle, thro' all the trials that beset a nation's childhood and youth, will never desert the faithful, the true, in the graver and severer, but no less needful, trials of manhood. (Cheers.) And whatever others may think, or dream, or fear, over this poor vision of mine, neither by day nor by night, since the first triumphant shout

rang from one sea to the other, after the 17th of April, 1861, is there cast a shadow of a cloud.

The American people, inspired by confidence in their cause and doctrine, trusting in God, have taken up the arms which had so long lain unused by their sides, and almost unbidden have gone out to battle. From the hillsides, the valleys, the workshops, from the railroads, from the seashore, from the fishing smacks of our own dear old Commonwealth they have come, from every calling, from every sect, whether of religion or politics, whether of belief or unbelief, they all have come, under the movement of a new inspiration (applause)—and whatever misfortune, if misfortune should come, may befall our flag or our arms, either at Washington, or Baltimore, or Philadelphia, or New York, the men of New England will rally behind our Berkshire Hills, and make the Switzerland of Massachusetts the rampart of our liberties.—(Enthusiastic and repeated cheers.) But neither in New York, nor Philadelphia, nor Washington, will our arms suffer defeat. We went down to Bull Run, as I had the honor to remark in conversation this morning to some gentlemen around me, an aggregation of town meetings. (Laughter.) Wheresoever we march again, we march—an army, (cheers—'that's so!') disciplined, drilled, thoroughly equipped and ably commanded, the men knowing who their commanders are. (Cheers.)

And we will not be content much longer with defending Washington under the walls of the Capitol, nor on the banks of the Potomac (cheers;) but Washington shall be defended at Charleston, South Carolina; at Savannah, Georgia; at the city of New Orleans, and all the way up the Mississippi. The Union men of the South shall be liberated by the arms of the men of the North and the West, and all men, capable of bearing arms, capable of allegiance, will yet be summoned, unless the blight and blast shall smite the head of every statesman and general in America—shall be summoned to the standard wherever that flag advances. (Applause.) It is not my opinion that our generals, when any man comes to the standard and desires to defend the flag, will find it important to light a candle, and see what his complexion is, or to consult the family Bible to ascertain whether his grandfather came from the banks of the Thames or the banks of the Senegal. (Enthusiastic applause.) And if they who have attempted to overthrow the National Constitution, which was *their agis* as well as ours, to destroy their American liberty as well as ours, to overthrow the hopes of their posterity as well as ours, to destroy civil society, social life, in their own midst, shall find that their peculiar patriarchal institution, staggering, shall fall beneath their own parricidal blows, (cheers,) whether they count it a misfortune or not, it will be their own chickens coming home to their own roost—their own fault.

If it shall follow, in the good providence of God, that other men beside those of my own peculiar complexion and blood shall taste the sweets of liberty, then God be praised!—(Three cheers for Gov. Andrew.) I am glad that this is not heresy in the commercial metropolis. (Repeated cheers.) I suppose that, although we ought not, if peace had been preserved, either to invade, or counsel, or promote the invasion of any constitutional right reserved to any State; yet, when a State and people trample the Constitution itself beneath their feet, endeavoring to crush us and our children with it, we may at least have the power and the privilege of praying for the happiness of them all, *bond* as well as *free*.

I look, Mr. Chairman, with the assurance of confident faith for an early restoration of entire peace. I have no idea, not the slightest, that the next 4th of July will find this people in arms. But if it must be that we shall continue to pour out our money and our blood, to spend our lives in waging by any form of contest this unhappy war, let it come, let it abide, let it stay with us, let the sword be the constant emblem glittering before our eyes, let the flag advance, and armed men

tread beneath its folds, until in Heaven's own time a perfect, assured peace shall come, established upon the foundations of eternal right—upon which alone can any victory be secured. (Loud applause.)

And now, Mr. President, I have to thank, from the bottom of my heart, the sons of New England, resident in New York for the kindness of this reception to our 20th regiment, and for the flattering manner in which my name has been mentioned in connection with it; as also for the generous hospitality and fraternal love which have been exhibited by you and all of you from the moment the Massachusetts 6th displayed the ensign of our Commonwealth in the streets of New York, when marching as the first regiment bound for the defence of the Capital. (Applause.) From that time until now we have continued, by a stream of military organizations, almost to tire your hospitality and your patience. (Voices—'No, sir, never!') If you were not both generous as well as faithful and patriotic, we should almost begin to think it our duty to take some other path to Philadelphia. (Voice—'Through New York, not round it;') but so long, Mr. President and friends, as our soldiers of Massachusetts continue to receive such friendly, fraternal, cordial greetings, such kind sympathetic aid, as they have from the first received at your hands, through New York they will always come. (Cheers.) And now, Sir, you will permit me, thanking you also for the kindness with which you have listened to these discursive remarks, to resume my seat, giving as a sentiment:

'The Sons of Massachusetts residing in New York, bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, and heart of our heart.'

(Loud and repeated cheers.)

LETTER FROM REV. H. H. GARNET.

The following interesting letter from Rev. Mr. Garnet to his wife, dated '23, Islington Terrace, Liverpool, Sept. 13,' is copied from the *Anglo-African*, and will be read with pleasure by our readers:

My Dearest Wife:—We arrived in Liverpool yesterday evening, at 5 o'clock, after an extremely pleasant passage of twelve days.

We had on board four hundred passengers, 340 in the steerage, and 60 in the saloon.—Twelve years ago my treatment on board of an English steamer from New York to this place was very different from that which I have just received. Then I was caged up in the steward's room of one of Cunard's vessels, and although a first class passenger, I was not allowed to go into the saloon, or to eat at the table with white humanity.

How changed now. On a steamship belonging to the same nation I took a first class passage, asked the steward to give me my berth, and assign me my seat at the table.—My ticket was given me without a remark; an elegant state-room with six berths was placed at my disposal, and my seat at the table was between two young American gentlemen, educated at St. Mary's College in Maryland, and on their way to Rome to finish their studies for the Roman Priesthood. And I am happy to say that I did not receive a look, or hear a word during the whole voyage, that grated upon my very sensitive feelings.

As usual, I was sea-sick all the voyage, more or less. When I went on board I resolved not to be sick; but as soon as we cleared Sandy Hook old Neptune called for me, and lead me to the side of the ship, and told me to throw my resolutions overboard, which I did in double-quick time, and for a while I felt as if I did not care if he threw me over after them.

On the Sabbath, after worship, we were all gratified to see two whales. They were none of your juveniles, or babies like Barnum's, but were respectable 'old folks,' and like most other folks of their color, they made considerable stir. A lady exclaimed, as her little under jaw dropped down about an inch, 'as high as I can guess,' 'Oh! why do they make such a noise and commotion? they are the

biggest fishes in the sea—and they are black, too.' I said, 'Madam, you have accounted for the noise they make.'

On the fifth day we passed an iceberg, about the size of the City Hall Park, with a crystal palace resembling very much our City Hall. This straggling northern loafer had been cruising about in that part of the Atlantic for several weeks, and seemed bent on mischief. These icebergs will in time probably become the source of great annoyance, and dangerous to travelers across the Atlantic.—The ice is of course continually increasing in the Arctic seas, and consequently detached portions of those eternal mountains of ice will continually increase in their desertions.

On the tenth day a little child two years old died, and for the first time I witnessed the solemn scene of a funeral at sea. The mother of the child was a devoted Christian, and a member of one of the Presbyterian churches of New York, and died a few months ago.—The father, with an aching heart, was on his way back to his native England, with his motherless babes. God took the eldest, and its spirit went up to heaven to meet its mother. One ascended from a sick chamber on the land, the other from an almost pestilential steerage of a ship on the ocean. O how sweet was that heaven to each! Heaven is central to every portion of our sad and sorrowful earth. When the little pilgrim died, many hands were offered to lay it out. The father begged that a coffin might be made for its remains, instead of the poor sailor's winding sheet. British tars at once acceded to his wishes, and a coffin was made and neatly stained. They then put the little baby in perforated it with several holes, and put in a cannon shot, so it would easily sink. The bell struck three in the afternoon. The captain, officers and men prepared for the services, and the passengers, fore and aft, assembled as near as possible to the gang-way.—The captain and surgeon performed the solemn burial services of the Church of England, and at the proper place the board was tilted. A little splash was heard, and the last remains of the young voyager disappeared in a moment. Just then the sea sent up one of his awful and terrible wails which no mortal can describe, and the foam of his billows seemed to spread in white pall over the tombs grave. But the sea shall give up its dead, and they that are in their graves shall hear the voice of God, and come forth.

On the eleventh day at dawn we saw the green hills of Ireland, and at 8 A. M., we passed and saluted the Great Eastern, outward bound. She appeared very much like an island, or a good sized manufacturing village. While we were rolling and pitching, she triumphantly ploughed through the waves, without even deigning to bow her proud head.

Soon after my arrival in Liverpool I set out to find my old friends Mr. and Mrs. Jas. Johnson, formerly of Troy, N. Y., and accomplished my object in twenty minutes. I found them well, and doing very well, and greatly comforted by their lovely, obedient and accomplished daughter.

May God bless all your friends and mine. I leave to-night at 11 for London.

Yours, truly,

HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET.

The Washington jail is crowded with fugitive slaves, who are without claimants, and many of them doubtless belonged to men now in the rebel ranks. One of them certainly did, for his late master was John A. Washington, of the Mount Vernon estate, who has since been shot by our troops in a scouting expedition. By what statute these slaves are kept in the U. S. jail, no one seems to know.—They are put and kept there by a Republican marshal, and it is a well known fact that prominent office-holders there hold that the late Confiscation Act does not free the negroes who come under its operation, but simply turns them over from rebel masters to the U. S. Government—the Government owning them!

THE MANHOOD OF THE NEGRO.

Mr. Secretary Seward has settled for this Presidential term the question of the manhood of the negro. By one stroke of the pen he has reversed the infamous doctrine of Judge Taney touching the alien condition of free negroes in the United States, and the infamous refusal of the Buchanan Administration to grant to a free negro, going abroad, the protection guaranteed by the Government to its citizens in foreign countries. Rev. Henry H. Garnet, pastor of the Shiloh Presbyterian Church in Prince Street in this city, is now in England furthering the objects of the African Civilization Society. Before his departure he obtained from the Secretary of State at Washington a passport in due form, requesting 'all whom it may concern to permit safely and freely to pass Henry H. Garnet, a CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES, and in case of need to give him all lawful aid and protection.' Thus, under the great seal of the United States, a black man, of unadulterated negro blood, is declared before the civilized world to be entitled to the protection of the Government, as a citizen. This single fact ought to satisfy the Christian and philanthropic people of England, of the vital difference between our present Administration and its predecessor upon the question of slavery and its related topics, and also of the bearing of the war for the Union upon the welfare of the black man.

Mr. Stephens, Vice President of the Southern Confederacy, has taught us how Mr. Garnet would be regarded under such a Government. These are his principles: 'African slavery as it exists among us is the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. . . . The corner-stone of our new government rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man.'

Let these declarations stand side by side, to interpret to foreign powers the two sides of our conflict. On the one hand let the U. S. protect and defend the manhood of every negro within its jurisdiction, as a citizen, entitled to all the rights of a citizen under the Constitution—and on the other let the Southern Confederacy stand forth as the champion of the doctrine that 'slavery is the normal condition of the negro;' and the war that is waged for the manhood of four millions will have the approving sympathy of the civilized world.—Independent.

The passport, being a curiosity of its kind, we append it:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

To all whom these presents come greeting.
No. 2553.

I, the undersigned, Secretary of State of the United States of America, hereby request all whom it may concern to permit safely and freely to pass Henry H. Garnet, a citizen of the United States, and in case of need to give him all lawful aid and protection.

Given under my hand, and the impression of the Seal of the Department of State, at the City of Washington [SEAL] the 26th day of April, A. D., 1861, in the 86th year of the Independence of these United States.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

DESCRIPTION.

Age, 45 years.
Stature, 5 feet 11 inches, English.
Forehead, high.
Eyes, black.
Nose, broad.
Mouth, medium.
Chin, round.
Hair, black.
Complexion, black.
Face, long.

Signature of the bearer,

HENRY H. GARNET,
New York.

Rev. Dr. Pennington, of New York, has recently departed for England, it being his third tour to the old country. He took passage in the steamer Edinburgh.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

Gen. McClellan has now ninety-six batteries of six guns to a battery in the Potomac army.

It is stated that the only persons exempted from military service at the South are overseers.

Three slaves were shot by the rebels at Munson's Hill while attempting to escape to our lines.

The Rev. John Pierpont has been appointed Chaplain of Col. Henry Wilson's Massachusetts 22d Regiment.

It is stated that the Federal prisoners sent to New Orleans were escorted to their quarters in that city by a colored company.

A Leavenworth (Kansas) paper says it has information to the effect that one hundred slaves leave Missouri every day for Kansas.

The rebel General, Magruder, has made a requisition upon the citizens of five counties in Virginia for one-third of their efficient male slave population, to work on the rebel fortifications.

The Secretary of War is becoming impatient with the expense of bands of music for the army, as it already amounts to a sum that will make this single item of expenditure \$4,000,000.

Nearly all the Southern men in the last Congress who voted against the prosecution of the war, have either entered the rebel army within a short time past, or are preparing to do so.

In one of the Troy pulpits, on Sunday last, the pastor offered a special prayer for Gen. Fremont, whom he alluded to as a man between two fires—the enemy in front and a distrustful and slanderous people behind.

The telegraph announced the other day that a Pennsylvania regiment had restored a fugitive slave to his master. It seems that he was not only given up, but was escorted two miles beyond our lines by a file of soldiers!

The number of serfs in Russia at the commencement of 1859, was no less than 22,563,086, which is considerably more than one-third of the whole population (61,129,480)—The number of owners of these serfs was 106,897.

The muster roll of the Tar River Rangers, one of the companies taken prisoners by our troops at Fort Hatteras, contains the names of sixty-four men, only five of whom were able to write their names; the rest all made their marks.

The Toronto *Globe* says that one curious effect of the present war has been the bringing into prominent view the existence of strong affinities between a certain political party in Canada and the slaveholders of the Southern States.

Two or three days since, a slave boy, seven years of age, was carried back to bondage from the vicinity of Fortress Monroe, by his mistress, who claimed to be a loyal resident of Baltimore. So says a correspondent of the Boston *Journal*.

At the battle of Bull Run, the captain of a Rhode Island battery was killed early in the action, when James Reeder, a colored servant, took command and held the gun to the last moment, for which he was highly complimented on the return of the troops to Providence.

African slavers have discovered a new way of reaching Cuba with their cargoes. A few weeks since six hundred negroes were landed on Anguilla Island, one of the Bahamas, the slave ship burned to escape detection, and the cargo forwarded to Cuba, in two trips, by a schooner.

Daniel Ricketson, of New Bedford, Mass., in a letter to Wm. C. Nell, of Boston, says that he found the following statement in an account of the Bermuda Islands, given in 'Morse's American Gazetteer,' Boston, 1797: 'In the late war, there were at one time between fifteen and twenty privateers fitted out from hence, which were manned by negro slaves, who behaved irreproachably.'

A black girl named White, having been excluded lately from a district school in Minnesota, the matter was referred to the Attorney General of the State, who decided that the trustees had no power to exclude any one on account of color.

The arrivals of cotton at Liverpool from St. Mark, Hayti, from the 6th to the 12th of September, amounted to 279 bales. The exports of domestic cotton from the port of New York to Hayti, for the week ending October 1st, amounted to 29 packages, and were valued at \$745.

The Emperor of Russia has addressed our Government on the existing state of affairs here, manifesting the most friendly interest in the welfare of this Government, and hoping for a restoration of its unity. Secretary Seward has appropriately and gracefully responded to the letter of the Emperor.

In the local columns of a recent Baltimore *Clipper* is an account of the whipping of four free colored women in that city, by order of a Police Justice. They received ten stripes each upon the back, well laid on, with an additional five for one woman, who is said to have complained too loudly of the first ten.

A decision of Marshal O'Donnell, Minister of War and the Colonies, published in the Madrid papers, and addressed to the Captain-General of Porto Rico, declares, in principle, that a slave who has touched the soil of Spain must be considered as emancipated, even without the consent of his former master.

In Missouri the secession slaveholders, by thousands, with their negroes, are leaving the State for Arkansas, preceding Price's rebel army, who have evacuated Lexington and are reported retreating before Gen. Fremont. If the way remains open there will be such a slave exodus from Missouri this fall as was never heard of before.

At a recent immense meeting in Worcester, which was addressed by the Hon. Senator Wilson and Mayors Davis and Bullock, while the latter was eloquently enforcing the sentiment that we must have 'One Country, one Constitution, one Union, one Future,' a voice in the crowd called out loudly, 'And one Nation without one Slave.'

The following gentlemen are advertised to deliver lectures in the Boston Fraternity Course during the coming fall and winter:—Hon. Charles Sumner, Jacob M. Manning, Geo. Wm. Curtis, T. W. Higginson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Wm. R. Alger, Henry Ward Beecher, Frederick Douglass, E. H. Heywood, E. H. Chapin, Wm. S. Studley, and Wendell Phillips.

Salt Lake City is now connected with the Atlantic States by telegraph. Hon. J. H. Wade of Cincinnati received a dispatch from Brigham Young, Oct. 18th, congratulating him on the completion of the line to Salt Lake City, and expressing the most patriotic sentiments for the preservation of the Union. The line between the latter named city and San Francisco will be completed in a few days.

The pro-slavery press are making a great hue and cry about a passport granted by Mr. Seward to the Rev. H. H. Garnet, simply because the latter is a colored gentleman. The passport is impressed by the seal of the Department of State, and 'requests all whom it may concern to permit safely and freely to pass Henry H. Garnet, a citizen of the United States, and in case of need to give him all lawful aid and protection.'

On the evening of Sept. 26th, a special religious service was held at the Islington Presbyterian Church in Liverpool, as a mark of sympathy with the national humiliation appointed to be observed in America on that day. The Rev. Dr. White conducted the service. He regarded the American war in the light of a correction from God to improve, and not as a judgment to destroy. The cause of the war he believed to be the curse of slavery, and he argued that the war would be the death-blow of slavery.

A very large and enthusiastic meeting of the colored citizens of New Bedford was held on the 9th ult., for the purpose of using their influence in behalf of the Government to put down the present rebellion. Wm. P. Powell presided, and made an eloquent and patriotic speech. Resolutions were adopted calling on the Government to accept the services of colored men, asking the next Legislature to strike the word 'white' from off the statute laws of the Commonwealth, and recommending the formation of colored military companies. Hon. Rodney French urged the colored people to commence drilling, for he thought that their services would very soon be required by the Government. Remarks were also offered by Wm. H. Johnson, Rev. Mr. Jackson, Rev. Mr. Jones, Wm. Berry, and Mayor Taber.

BROWNSON AND CHEEVER.—The Baltimore correspondent of the *Tribune* is enthusiastic in his appreciation of the efforts of these gentlemen in behalf of emancipation by the war power. He says:

'God bless Dr. Brownson and Dr. Cheever for their admirable illustrations of the true question at issue in this rebellion! None but inspired minds could write and speak as they have done. It has been vouchsafed unto them to see through the darkness, and it has been dispelled by their powerful pens. Not to be irreverent, nothing uttered by the prophets of old can compare with Dr. Brownson's argument for clear-sighted views of the future and felicitous statement, and as I regard all truth as sacred, I do not hesitate to rank his disquisition among the sacred writings.—Would that the people could rise to the level of this distinguished Christian philosopher's prophetic eye!'

WHERE THE OPPOSITION TO FREMONT COMES FROM.—The St. Louis correspondent of the *Tribune*, a very intelligent writer, says:

'It is at least singular that not a word of all the charges against Fremont was breathed from Washington until after the Proclamation. There are hundreds of Union men in Missouri who are heavy slaveholders; but with a large acquaintance among them I have not heard a single one, of unquestionable loyalty, object to that document. All the denunciation of it which we hear from loyal men comes from the East. It is certain that it stirred the great heart of the North-West as nothing else has stirred it since the beginning of the war. Is it not equally true that Gen. Fremont was the first of the leaders who comprehended the real issue—that he was indeed the Pathfinder, pointing out the position which the Government will inevitably be compelled to take at no distant day?'

LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH.—In a letter to W. W. Chapman, Chairman of the State Abolition Committee, Mr. Smith says:

'Election is again approaching, and you and others are asking me to lead in the work of bringing the Abolitionists to the polls.—Whilst confessing my gratitude for these expressions of continued confidence, I must, nevertheless, say that, if it was ever proper to regard me as one of the leaders in the Voting Abolition Party, it is certainly no longer so.

'The lessons which were read to me by Abolitionists a year ago, I can neither mistake nor forget. In one State and another, Nominating Conventions could not bear with me because of the unsoundness of my Religion. In Pennsylvania, this unsoundness was so abhorrent that a good man disdained to have his name on the same ticket with mine. In some States, the complaint was not only of the unsoundness of my Religion, but the unsoundness of my Abolitionism also.

'Surely, surely, if I have any remaining modesty, such facts as these must make me shrink from putting myself forward, or from allowing others to put me forward, among Voting Abolitionists.

'My Religion and my Abolitionism must bide their time!'

AN APPEAL FOR THE CONTRABANDS.

The Rev. Lewis C. Lockwood, of the American Missionary Association, at present laboring with great acceptance at Fortress Monroe among the runaway slaves, is furnishing the results of his experience and observation in a series of articles, published in the *American Missionary*. In a recent communication he says:—"I have received a letter from one of the contrabands, this morning, containing an effecting appeal—many yesterday were kept from meeting by way of proper attire. I am convinced that \$5,000 worth of clothing would be well appropriated. And I have no doubt that were the matter brought before the public in the right light, and to the requisite extent, the charitable people of the free States would cheerfully contribute to supply all the necessities of the people. I am sure that anti-slavery men and women, especially would delight to respond to such an appeal."

Sunday and day schools have been opened for these colored refugees by Mr. Lockwood, with the warm approbation of General Wool, the officers and chaplains. Nothing can exceed the eagerness of the colored people to learn, and their most influential men are indefatigable in assisting. Several of them are able and eloquent in public preaching, exhortations and prayer; and all the people join in singing hymns of their own composition, which they have long sang together, to simple melodies. One young man named Davis is spoken of as displaying abilities, united with a decided Christian character, well worthy of being patronized and well educated, for future service in the new career which is apparently opening for the benefit of the African race.

The first Sunday School was opened on September 15th, in the house of ex-President John Tyler, who deserted it when he openly joined the rebels. A scene highly indicative of the times was presented when the instruction of Virginia slaves, freed by the rebellion, or by the desertion of their masters, was commenced in his abandoned mansion, under the protection of the flag of the Union, by volunteer 'Yankee' soldiers, as teachers, and with the approbation of a favorite son of New York, Gen. Wool. One of the teachers, finding a piano standing idle, opened it, and played an accompaniment to the hymns of the poor but devout and grateful negroes. Mr. Lockwood says:—"I strive, and very successfully too, to point out to them the importance of their standing on their character, and presenting a conduct at once pleasing to God and approved of men. I tell them that they are surrounded by a great crowd of witnesses—I warn them not to let it be said that they associate liberty with licentiousness, laziness, lounging and intemperance! They discover a great thirst for knowledge."

Contributions of money, clothing, &c., are earnestly requested. They can be sent to Lewis Tappan, Treasurer, 61 John St., New York, or directly to Rev. L. C. Lockwood, care of Capt. Burleigh, Seminary, near Fortress Monroe, Virginia, by Adams' Express, freight prepaid.

HENRY WARD BEECHER ON CONTRABANDS.

A collection for the American Missionary Association, to be employed specifically for the religious and secular instruction of the 1,800 emancipated slaves in and around Fortress Monroe, was recently taken up in Henry Ward Beecher's Church, in Brooklyn. Prefacing the collection, Mr. Beecher said:

General Butler called them 'contrabands,' and the people seemed relieved, and snapped at the expression as if it was a very felicitous thing. My friends, it is one of the great disadvantages of the position in which the North are placed that they dare not say *Freemen* and *Liberty* in this conflict. The South have this particular advantage—that they know that they are fighting for slavery, and say so. They are not complicated in that regard. Their issue is simple; and, though

selfish and monstrous, they have the advantage which comes from simplicity and from manly frankness. The North are in a position in which they do not dare to say that they are fighting for liberty. We are. We are not fighting directly for emancipation; but we are fighting for that Constitution and for those institutions which we believe will inevitably bring liberty in the process of time.

I am well aware of the embarrassment in which Government is placed. I would not say a word, nor exert an influence, to complicate matters, or make their fearful responsibility more onerous. I would lighten their hands by every just, generous sentiment, and every charitable construction; but I must be allowed, and I think it is proper and right, to say that it is not inconsistent with the soundest policy, and with the truest construction of duty, for the President, for the members of his Cabinet, and for the Generals of the army, to say that they shall give every constitutional advantage in this struggle to liberty, and that the animus with which they go forth is the maintenance of constitutional laws, because they embody essentially the spirit of liberty. Every attempt to dodge, and equivocate, and get around this question; every attempt to be sensitive in favor of slavery, and to make allowances in that direction, is very bad policy, to say nothing about justice and higher considerations. And we never shall carry this conflict victoriously thro' until men cease to have the sacred words of liberty stick in their throat, and make long circuits and periphrases when they come to that question; and I thank God that there is one man who dares to speak out upon it.

That man, with whose name the cause of liberty was so intimately associated in the campaign of 1856, seems destined still to be identified with the progress of that sacred cause. He alone, of all our Generals, seems to have had that far-seeing wisdom which springs from the very spirit and love of liberty. How simple and clear are his utterances. He alone dares to call slaves by their own odious name—*Slaves*—a word which the Constitution would not utter, and which men sensitive of shame do not love to speak. He alone has declared that the slaves of men found in arms against the country shall become freemen. Mark it! Not with verbal dexterity, 'contrabands,' not men without name, anomalous, nondescript; but, as if inspired from on high with the very spirit of religion, and acting according to its most undoubted inspirations, Fremont has declared that slaves shall become free men. The heart and conscience of the whole North responded to that touch. Therefore, Fremont will never be forgiven.

THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE.
NEW VOLUME.

On the 7th of September, The New York Weekly Tribune commenced the twenty-first year of its existence; The Daily Tribune being some months older, and The Semi-Weekly Tribune somewhat younger. For more than twenty years, this journal has labored in what its conductors have felt to be the cause of Humanity, Justice and Freedom, endeavoring to meliorate the condition of the oppressed and unfortunate, to honor and encourage useful exertion in whatever sphere, and to promote by all means the moral, intellectual and material advancement of our country. It has aimed to be right rather than popular, and to espouse and commend to-day the truth that others may not be willing to accept till to-morrow. In pursuing this course, mistakes have doubtless been made and faults committed; but, having in all things incited our readers to think and judge for themselves, rather than adopt blindly our own or others' conclusions, we believe we may fairly claim for this journal the credit of having qualified its readers to detect and expose even its own errors. To develop the minds of the young by the most general, thorough and practical Education, and to encourage and stimulate Productive Industry, through free grants of Public Lands to actual settlers and cultivators, as also through the protection of immature or peculiarly exposed

branches from too powerful foreign competition, are among the aims to which this journal has adhered through good and evil report, and which it steadfastly commends to American patriotism and philanthropy.

As to the Civil War now devastating our country, we hold it to have originated in a Rebellion more wanton, wicked, inexcusable, than was ever before known—a Rebellion in the interest of the few against the many—a Rebellion designed to raise higher the walls of caste and tighten the chains of oppression. Having done all we could without a surrender of vital principle to avoid this War, and witnessed the forbearance, meekness, and long-suffering with which the Federal Government sought to avert its horrors, we hold it our clear duty, with that of every other citizen, to stand by the nation and its fairly chosen rulers, and to second with all our energies their efforts to uphold the Union, the Constitution, and the supremacy of the Laws. And, though the Rebellion has become, through usurpation, deception, terrorism, and spoliation, fearfully strong, we believe the American Republic far stronger, and that the unanimous, earnest efforts of loyal hearts and hands will insure its overthrow. But on all questions affecting the objects, the scope, and duration of this most extraordinary contest, we defer to those whom the American People have clothed with authority, holding unity of purpose and of action indispensable in so grave an emergency.

In a crisis like the present, our columns must be largely engrossed with the current history of the War for the Union, and with elucidations of its more striking incidents. We shall not, however, remit that attention to Literature, to Foreign Affairs, to Agricultural Progress, to Crops, Markets, &c., &c., which has already, we trust, won for The Tribune an honorable position among its contemporaries. Our main object is and shall be to produce a comprehensive newspaper, from which a careful reader may glean a vivid and careful history of the times, not merely in the domain of Action, but in that of Opinion also. As our facilities for acquiring information increase with years, we trust that an improvement in the contents of our journal is perceptible, and that, in the variety and fullness of intelligence afforded, we may still hope to "make each day a critic on the last." In this hope, we solicit a continuance of the generous measure of patronage hitherto accorded to our journal.

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Twenty copies to one address for \$20, with one extra to him who sends us the club. For each club of One Hundred, The Daily Tribune will be sent gratis for one year.

When drafts can be procured it is much safer than to remit Bank Bills. The name of the Post-Office and State should in all cases be plainly written.

Payment always in advance.

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FREDERICK DOUGLASS, ROCHESTER, N. Y.

AGENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

We take the liberty of using the names of the following gentlemen who will receive names and subscriptions for *Douglass' Monthly* in Great Britain:

Halifax—Rev. RUSSELL LANT CARPENTER, Milton Place; Rev. Dr. CROFTS, North Parade.
London—Mr. L. A. CAMEROVZOW, Anti-Slavery Office, 27, New Broad Street, E. C.
Dublin—Mr. WM. WEBB, 52, High Street, and 8, Dunville Avenue, Rathmines.
Derby—Dr. SPENCER T. HALL, Burton Road.
Glasgow—Mr. JOHN SMITH, 173, Trongate.
Leeds—Mr. ARTHUR HOLLAND, 4, Park Row.
Newcastle-on-Tyne—Mr. WALTER S. PRINGLE.

Haytian Advertisements.

INVITATION.

Hayti will soon regain her ancient splendor. This marvelous soil that our fathers, blessed by God, conquered for us, will soon yield to us the wealth now hidden in its bosom. Let our black and yellow brethren, scattered through the Antilles, and North and South America, hasten to co-operate with us in restoring the glory of the Republic. Hayti is the common country of the black race. Our ancestors, in taking possession of it, were careful to announce in the Constitution that they published, that all the descendants of Africans, and of the inhabitants of the West Indies, belong by right to the Haytian family. The idea was grand and generous.

Listen, then, all ye negroes and mulattoes who, in the vast Continent of America, suffer from the prejudices of caste. The Republic calls you; she invites you to bring to her your arms and your minds. The regenerating work that she undertakes interests all colored people and their descendants, no matter what their origin or where their place of birth.

Hayti, regaining her former position, retaking her ancient sceptre as Queen of the Antilles, will be a formal denial, most eloquent and peremptory, against those detractors of our race who contest our desire and ability to attain a high degree of civilization. GEFFRARD.

CIRCULAR---No. I.

To the Blacks, Men of Color, and Indians in the United States and British North American Provinces:

FRIENDS:—I am authorized and instructed by the Government of the Republic, to offer you, individually and by communities, a welcome, a home, and a free homestead, in Hayti.

Such of you as are unable to pay your passage will be provided with the means of defraying it.

Two classes of emigrants are especially invited—laborers and farmers. None of either class, or any class, will be furnished with passports, who cannot produce, before sailing, the proofs of good character for industry and integrity.

To each family of emigrants, five carreaux (a carreau is 3 acres and 3 1-3 rods) of fresh and fertile land, capable of growing all the fruits and staples of the tropics, will be gratuitously given, on the sole condition that they shall settle on it and cultivate it, and declare their intention of becoming citizens of Hayti. To unmarried men, on similar conditions, two carreaux will be granted.

Board and lodging, free of cost, will be furnished to the emigrants for at least eight days after their arrival in the island.

The government also will find remunerative work for those of you whose means will not permit you to begin immediately an independent cultivation.

Emigrants are invited to settle in communities.

Sites for the erection of schools and chapels will be donated by the State, without regard to the religious belief of the emigrants.

The same protection and civil rights that the laws give to Haytians are solemnly guaranteed to the emigrants.

The fullest religious liberty will be secured to them; they will never be called on to support the Roman Catholic Church.

No military service will be demanded of them, excepting that they shall form military companies and drill themselves once a month.

All the necessary personal effects, machinery and agricultural instruments introduced by the emigrants, shall be entered free of duty.

The emigrants shall be at liberty to leave the country at any moment they please; but those whose passage shall be paid by government, if they wish to return before the expiration of three years, will be required to refund the money expended on their account. A contract, fixing the amount, will be made with each emigrant before leaving the continent.

I have been commissioned to superintend the interests of the emigrants, and charged with the entire control of the movement in America, and all persons, therefore, desiring to avail themselves of the invitation and bounty of the

Haytian Government, are requested to correspond with me.

I shall at once, as directed by the Government, establish a bureau of emigration in Boston, and publish a Guide Book for the use of those persons of African or Indian descent who may wish to make themselves acquainted with the resources of the country and the disposition of its authorities.

I shall also appoint Agents to visit such communities as may seriously entertain the project of emigration.

Immediate arrangements, both here and in Hayti, can be made for the embarkment and settlement of one hundred thousand persons.

By order of the Government of the Republic of Hayti.

JAMES REDPATH,

General Agent of Emigration.

Boston, Nov. 3, 1860.

CIRCULAR---No. III.

HAYTIAN BUREAU OF EMIGRATION, }
August 31st, 1861. }

AUTUMN ARRANGEMENTS.

Arrangements will be made by which emigrants can sail from different ports during the autumn and winter. Due notice will be given of the days of sailing, through the columns of "The Pine and Palm."

Persons desiring to emigrate are requested to read carefully the circulars of this Bureau, and to follow the directions therein given, as it is impossible to provide for the comfort of passengers except by insisting on a strict compliance with our regulations.

I. Let it be understood, that all who can pay for their passage are expected to do so; and that a passage will be advanced to such farmers and laborers only as are unable to meet this expense.

II. All mechanics who intend to practice their trades in Hayti, must go at their own expense; the Government guarantees to find work for farmers and laborers only. It will welcome all colored emigrants; but it cannot agree to provide work for all classes of mechanics. Its demands for agricultural labor is unlimited; but for mechanical skill this is not the case.

III. Passengers will be charged at the rate of \$18 each adult from United States ports; from Canada West, \$25. Children under eight will be charged half price; infants under one year, free.

IV. Passengers, in all cases, should provide their own bedding. Mattresses must be four feet wide. Each passenger must be provided with a tin gallon can for water, a tin cup, a tin plate, knife and fork, a few pounds of soap, and towels, with such extra utensils as may be deemed necessary to hold the daily rations.

V. The amount of baggage allowed to every passenger is two trunks, or two barrels, or one trunk and one barrel. All freight over that amount will be charged for, separately from the passage ticket, at the rate of 75 cents per barrel or 15 cents per cubic foot from American ports; or 90 cents per barrel and 18 cents per cubic foot from British North American ports. This is exclusive of the bedding, which goes free.—All goods must be boxed up.

VI. The board provided for emigrants will be the navy rations of the United States, minus intoxicating spirits, which will not be allowed in our vessels. The following is the fare:

NAVY RATION FOR EACH DAY OF THE WEEK.

Days.	Bread.	Beef.	Pork.	Flour.	Rice.	Dried Fruit.	Pickles.	Sugar.	Tea.	Choice	Coff. of either.	Butter.	Cheese.	Beans.	Molasses.	Vinegar.	Water.
Sunday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Monday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tuesday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wednesday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Thursday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Friday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Saturday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Emigrants are at liberty to carry, free of expense, additional provisions to be used on the voyage. Slight additions may be made to the navy rations; but the Bureau does not pledge itself to do so.

VII. As efforts have been industriously made by unscrupulous men to misrepresent the conditions under which emigrants who do not prepay their passages, will accept the offers of the Government of Hayti, it is deemed advisable to publish below, in full, the contract to be made with them. The words in italic and within brackets (blank in the original) are filled up to how precisely the terms on which a single man can emigrate. It should be distinctly understood, that no barrier whatever will be put to

any man's return, excepting that he shall pay the sum of eighteen dollars before embarking for the United States, if he did not pay for his own passage from this country to Hayti. The Government of Hayti, while they will welcome all visitors, cannot reasonably be expected to pay their passages. Hence this provision.

The following is the contract with the emigrants who do not prepay their passages:

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this [first] day of [January.] A. D., 1861, by and between JAMES REDPATH, of Boston, General Agent of Emigration, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Hayti, and [John Smith,] late of [Detroit, Michigan,] and an emigrant to Hayti;

WITNESSETH: That said James Redpath, on behalf of the Government of Hayti aforesaid, agrees to provide a passage for said [John Smith] from the port of [Boston] to the port of [St. Mark,] in said Hayti, in the [Brig L'Ami d' Haiti,] leaving the port of [Boston] on or about the [third] day of [January] 1861, upon the conditions hereafter following, viz:

First, said [John Smith] hereby acknowledges the receipt of [a] ticket of passage from said port of [Boston] to said port of [St. Mark,] in Hayti, and agrees during the term of said voyage to provide [his] own bedding, and the necessary utensils for eating and drinking.

Secondly, in consideration of receiving the passage aforesaid, said [John Smith] further agrees, that if he accepts a grant of land from the Government of Hayti, under the provisions of the law on Emigration, approved by His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Hayti, September 1, 1860, he will repay to the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti the sum of [eighteen] dollars, American currency, within [three years] from the date of the contract.

Furthermore, that if from any cause said [John Smith] sees proper to leave Hayti before the expiration of the term of three years from the date of [his] arrival in the Island, [he] shall pay the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti the sum of [eighteen] dollars, American currency, as repayment of expenses incurred by the agents of the Government for [his] passage to Hayti; but, nevertheless, with this express provision: That if [he] does remain three years in the Island from the date of [his] arrival therein, and does not see fit to accept a grant of land from the Government of the Republic of Hayti, [he] shall not be required to repay to the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti, or any agent of Government thereof, any sum whatever on account of said passage.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year above written.

[L. S.]
[L. S.]

[John Smith.]
JAMES REDPATH.

VIII. Emigrants must pay their expenses to the port of embarkation.

IX. To aid emigrants who wish to carry extra baggage, the Bureau will allow them, (by giving a note payable to the Government of Hayti,) to take such freight to the amount of \$10.

X. The Bureau wishes it to be distinctly understood, however, that unless at least twenty days notice is given of intention to sail, with the amount of baggage to be taken, it will not hold itself responsible to secure a passage for any one.

XI. All persons desiring information relative to the movement, are cordially invited to correspond with the General Bureau, or personally to visit it. The fullest information will be afforded them.

XII. Usual length of voyage, from fourteen to twenty days.

A. E. NEWTON,

Corresponding Secretary.

NOW READY,

SERMONS AND SPEECHES BY HON. GERIT SMITH; containing his Six Sermons on the Religion of Reason, and three of his recent Speeches—one of them delivered lately on the War. Price 50 cents.

For sale by ROSS & TOUSEY,
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—The Haytian Central Bureau of Emigration has been removed from Boston to New York. Persons intending to emigrate, or desiring information respecting Hayti, should now address Mr. A. E. Newton, the Corresponding Secretary, New York City. The next emigrant vessel will leave New York for St. Mark, Hayti, on Saturday, November 23d.